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Bessmertnykh on Upcoming Washington Talks
LD191328 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian
1224 GMT 19 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow, 19 Mar (TASS)—“The upcoming talks of USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze with U.S. President Ronald Reagan and Secretary of State George Shultz in Washington are another important stage in developing political dialogue between the two countries,” USSR Deputy Foreign Minister Aleksandr Bessmertnykh said in an interview with a TASS diplomatic correspondent. He will be flying to Washington on Sunday together with Eduard Shevardnadze.

“By virtue of the specific character of the role which this dialogue plays in the contemporary world, it has become a kind of tradition for it to concentrate on key problems of international security and disarmament,” the deputy minister stated. “It is precisely this set of problems which will be the principal subject of the discussions. In specific terms, the sides have agreed to undertake efforts to ensure progress in the central matter—the working out of a treaty on 50-percent reductions of strategic offensive weapons. We continue to believe that it is possible to prepare this treaty by the time R. Reagan visits Moscow and to sign it at the leaders’ meeting.”

“We’ll be discussing current regional problems, in particular, I should think, the Near East, Afghanistan, and also questions of humanitarian cooperation. Incidentally, on human rights the U.S. side would do well to learn to give specific answers to the concerns that we are expressing. They’re used to asking questions, but not to answering,” the deputy minister said. “There is also plenty to talk about in the sphere of bilateral Soviet-U.S. relations, in particular the rather good prospects for cooperation in a number of specific spheres of business.”

“Intensive work is continuing in Geneva on preparing a draft treaty on a 50-percent reduction of strategic offensive arms. The Soviet leadership is maintaining a constant watch on questions of preparing the treaty. So far, a great deal of work has been done. An increasing number of points have been agreed on. Drafts are being submitted on important protocols to the treaty and certain fundamental articles are being polished. Yet the work is not going as fast as could be hoped for. A number of serious problems remain unsolved. These concern observance of the ABM Treaty in the form in which it was signed in 1972; questions pertaining to the rules for counting long-range cruise missiles on heavy bombers and the limitation of sea-based cruise missiles. Some other problems are also bogged down, the resolution of which depends the success of our undertaking—or at least its timely success.”

“We are particularly disappointed at the U.S. delegation’s stance on the ABM Treaty. This stance is being drawn backwards, as if by a powerful magnet, by the

former U.S. positions which were left aside as unacceptable at the summit meeting in Washington and at the talks between the Soviet foreign minister and the U.S. secretary of state in Moscow in February this year. On a number of important aspects, the United States is striving to return to the positions which they occupied before the December summit meeting in Washington. Willingly or unwillingly they are thus departing from the instructions given jointly to the participants of the talks in Geneva by the leaders of the USSR and the United States.”

“In February, during the meeting with State Secretary George Shultz, Mikhail Gorbachev submitted new proposals which provide an opportunity to find solutions on a mutually acceptable basis to the remaining problems,” the deputy minister said. “We consider that in Washington the U.S. side will express its constructive attitude to the proposed solutions. In our opinion, the key to an effective way of overcoming the problems obstructing the path toward a treaty on strategic offensive weapons lies in rigorously following the accords agreed during the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting in Washington.”

“During the Washington meeting, the Soviet and U.S. leaders came out in favor of signing a treaty on 50-percent reductions during the next summit meeting in Moscow. Our diplomatic line has been directed toward achieving precisely this outcome for Reagan’s visit. The Soviet side consistently favors ensuring that the upcoming summit talks also should be an event marking a new stage in Soviet-U.S. efforts to limit the nuclear arms race and should be a major milestone in world politics. This approach is dictated by the Soviet leadership’s understanding of the great responsibility on the USSR and the United States to strengthen strategic stability and to remove the threat of a nuclear catastrophe,” Aleksandr Bessmertnykh said in conclusion. “I repeat that real opportunities exist for this.”

Shultz on Possibility of Soviet-U.S. Agreement
LD202105 Moscow TASS in English 2031 GMT
20 Mar 88

[Text] Washington March 20 TASS—TASS correspondent Nikolay Orekhov reports:

U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz stated the possibility of completing the work to elaborate a U.S.-Soviet treaty on reducing strategic offensive armaments by the next summit meeting between the Soviet and U.S. leaders.

Appearing in the NBC Sunday television news program he said he believed that this was possible. I think that it will take tense work and although it is, certainly, early to say that the success is predetermined, it is possible. But we do not try to prepare an agreement for the sake of the agreement itself.

Former Secretary McNamara on Arms Control
LD201959 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1500 GMT 20 Mar 88

[From the "International Panorama" program presented by Nikolay Shishlin; video interview with former U.S. Defense Secretary Robert McNamara by correspondent Aleksandr Gurnov—interview conducted in English with superimposed Russian translation]

[Text] Former U.S. Defense Secretary Robert McNamara was in Moscow last week. He is still a prominent figure in U.S. political life today.

[Begin recording] [Gurnov] Mr McNamara, I would like to start with this question. During your period in office as defense secretary in the administrations of Presidents Kennedy and Johnson, there were three occasions when you had to have your finger hovering over the nuclear button; in connection with events in Berlin in 1961, during the Caribbean crisis in 1962, and in connection with events in the Near East in 1967. These were moments when confrontation threatened to escalate into armed nuclear conflict. But subsequently, you have stated repeatedly that neither side wanted war. Don't you think that the situation where war could break out regardless of the will of the sides involved is still with us?

[McNamara] Yes, that is so. The world may fall into the abyss. I must stress that I do not believe that the Soviet Union wants war with the West. And I am sure that the West does not want war with the Soviet Union either. But our armed forces—and they amount in total to 50,000 nuclear warheads—and the military doctrines proposing their use under certain circumstances, all could combine with political tension, emotion, false information, incorrect evaluation of a given situation or errors to lead to catastrophe, although neither side wanted it to.

I think that today there are more opportunities to reduce the level of risk of war breaking out than at any time in the last 40 years and I hope that we will not miss this chance.

[Gurnov] Speaking of opportunities, when you were defense secretary you never had the opportunity that your colleague in the post at present has, to meet with the Soviet defense minister.

[McNamara] This meeting between the two ministers of defense is the first step in the dialogue on security questions between Soviet and Western military leaders. Incidentally, you have just mentioned and I recall that President Johnson himself at one time asked for efforts to be made to organize a trip for me to Moscow, that was in the time of Khrushchev's government, to start a dialogue which we thought necessary even then but which did not start until now. This is a huge step forward and I am very pleased to see it.

[Gurnov] One last question. What problems did you touch on as a member of the roundtable in Moscow?

[McNamara] I said that I am satisfied with the steps being taken to reduce the level of nuclear confrontation. One of these steps is the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. Some may say that it is virtually insignificant from the military point of view but from the political standpoint it is very, very important because it indicates that our governments can reach agreement on arms reduction. I hope that it will be followed by a treaty reducing strategic offensive weapons by approximately 50 percent but that again is only a small step toward what is the main aim: to reduce political tension which could lead to military confrontation in Europe. A basic factor behind this political tension is the imbalance in conventional weapons in Europe. Your general secretary recognized that. And Soviet proposals on this issue present enormous opportunities to both sides. Now we must flesh them out, that is, transform concepts and ideas into concrete deeds in the area of arms control. And I hope that we will do this. [end recording]

Zorin Comments on SDI Announcement Anniversary
LD192241 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1800 GMT 19 Mar 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The international mass media are carrying numerous commentaries devoted to the fifth anniversary, to be marked on 23 March, of the promulgation by the U.S. President of the plan he named the Strategic Defense Initiative, abbreviated to SDI. Here is Soviet television political observer Valentin Zorin:

[Zorin] Hello, Comrades! Well, what has stimulated such heightened and unusual attention in political circles and organs of the world press toward this rather less than joyful anniversary, the fifth anniversary of the day when Ronald Reagan, speaking in Washington, announced a new large-scale military program which immediately, in the happy phrase of Senator Edward Kennedy, received the title "Star Wars program" instead of the official SDI? I think, at least two circumstances. In the first place, the far-reaching consequences of this plan of the Washington administration, and in the second place, to put it mildly, the controversial nature of the scheme from the point of view of scientific and technical, and economic, and finally, military expediency.

As concerns the former, from the very beginning it was clear that it was not a matter of defense—talk of which was just a cover—but a qualitatively new spiral in the arms race and its transfer into space, which is fraught with the most serious dangers for mankind. If we are to speak of the doubts which the Washington initiative has engendered in influential circles, including in the United States itself, these doubts even today, 5 years after the

proclamation of the program, are connected with the view of leading scientists of its technical unfeasibility, in any case in the coming years or even decades, and with the calculations of authorities who assert that the financing of this program is beyond the strength of the U.S. economy, and finally, with the arguments of specialists who hold that, even if the program were implemented, it would be incapable of achieving the proclaimed aim—to reliably protect the United States from a missile strike. This is the cause of the increasing number of supporters, including in the United States itself, of the idea expressed by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, that the best way of removing the nuclear missile threat is not the creation of some sort of space umbrellas, the transfer of the arms race into space, but the total elimination of missiles and nuclear weapons.

In these conditions the question cannot fail to arise: Why does the leadership of the current Washington administration remain deaf to all of the arguments of reason, continuing to insist on its program? The answer to this question lies in the sphere of the interests of the largest U.S. military-industrial corporations. Specialists hold that the military programs of the last decades, which have brought multi-billion profits for these corporations, have to a large extent exhausted themselves, and they need a new gold mine. The cost of the Star Wars program, as is currently presented, is \$1.5-2 trillion, which the bosses of the U.S. arms business are already hankering after.

A subjective factor can also be added to this. President Reagan, having fallen under the influence of Edward Teller, previously a leading scientist and physicist but currently, it would appear, in view of his more than advanced age having lost the capacity to think reasonably and fallen into extreme obscurancy, has made his idea his own cherished brainchild, so to speak. Well, this is, as you will understand, a temporary, transient factor. One way or another, the 5 years which have passed since the day of the proclamation of the Star Wars program have revealed the danger of this militarist program, and its incongruity with the realities of today and still more of tomorrow, with what is called the new thinking. It is for this reason that the authors of this idea, instead of jubilee glorifications, are today meeting, with growing resistance to its dangerous intent, including in their own country, and with the demand that decrepit stereotypes and the doctrines of the past be abandoned.

ADN Cited on Completion of SS-12 Withdrawal
LD192033 Moscow TASS in English 1932 GMT
19 Mar 88

[Text] Berlin /03/TASS [dateline as received]—The GDR news agency ADN reports:

On Saturday, the last railway convoy with personnel, support facilities and supplies belonging to those units of the Soviet Armed Forces equipped with OTR-22 (SS-12) shorter-range missiles was seen off. Thus, the removal of

the Soviet shorter-range missiles based in the GDR was concluded in accordance with an agreement reached between the USSR and the GDR.

The withdrawal of these missiles began in the towns of Waren and Bischofswerda on February 25. By pulling the shorter-range missiles out, the Soviet Union, in accordance with the GDR and Czechoslovakia, fulfills an obligation undertaken by Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan in the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty they signed in Washington on December 8, 1987, before the ratification of this treaty.

As GDR Foreign Ministry spokesman Ambassador Wolfgang Meyer, stated in this respect, the early withdrawal of the OTR-22 missiles was fresh proof of the fact that the Soviet Union, the GDR and the other socialist countries were as good as their word, cementing their pledges with concrete deeds. He said: "Thereby, they wanted to make another contribution to expedite the entry into force of the INF Treaty and to take the first effective step towards eliminating an entire class of nuclear weapons."

As reactions showed, this initiative had been welcomed with great satisfaction by the general public, the spokesman noted.

"Throughout the world, this unilateral advance move of the socialist countries has been appreciated as a gesture of goodwill. It is being acknowledged as evidence of a sincere policy on behalf of disarmament and as an important confidence-building measure capable of stimulating further steps towards disarmament and a recovery of the international situation."

The spokesman further stated: "All states are called upon—with the first practical steps towards withdrawing missile potentials taken—to stake out any future contribution of their own to a speedy and uninterrupted continuation of the disarmament process. The GDR and its allies come out in favour of making headway in reducing all types of weapons, with comprehensive and strict verification assured. Also in the future, they would do everything to ensure that the road to further and all-round disarmament steps, which had been opened by the INF Treaty, are eventually followed."

'Ensures' Early Treaty
LD200833 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
0800 GMT 20 Mar 88

[Text] The removal of Soviet operational-tactical missiles from the territory of the GDR has been completed. In the view of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, this step ensures that the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles will come into force as soon as possible.

Bonn's Proposal on Conventional Arms Reduction
LD201638 Moscow TASS in English 1550 GMT
20 Mar 88

[Text] Bonn March 20 TASS—TASS correspondent Yevgeniy Gulkin reports:

The West German Government has proposed to the NATO allies a concept of reducing conventional armaments in Europe. Local observers note that it envisages a drastic cutback in the number of military hardware in this explosive region. At whose expense is it meant to effect it?

According to the Bonn proposal, the Warsaw Treaty member states reduce their armed forces and armaments down to the level of the current NATO bloc potential. In so doing, a common ceiling is set for various types of conventional weapons, including tanks, armoured personnel carriers and self-propelled artillery pieces. Under the proposals, the Warsaw Treaty Organisation should remove a by far greater number of units of the aforementioned vehicles than NATO.

The "new" concept of reducing conventional armaments, developed by the West German Defence Ministry, is only a modification of the former repeated attempts by the West to impose unilateral disarmament on the Warsaw Treaty. The stipulated five per cent cutback in the NATO armaments is of political rather than military importance: This item should demonstrate to the public NATO's readiness to a mutual reduction of armaments.

Alongside this, the authors of the concept, in calling for liquidating by way of a quantitative reduction in conventional weapons the ability to conduct offensive operations, "have forgotten" about the large number of NATO combat-ready divisions and brigades capable of conducting offensive operations without an additional deployment. They also bypass various proposals by the USSR, which form a comprehensive programme for enhancing security in Europe and lessening the danger of a surprise attack: setting up a nuclear-free corridor along the line of contact between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO, zones free of nuclear and chemical weapons, zones of a reduced concentration of armaments, and reducing the concentration of troops and armaments in the zone of contact between the two military alliances.

Considering these facts, one can reach a conclusion that the concept of reducing conventional armaments, put forward by Bonn, pursues the goal of wrecking the existing structure of the Soviet Armed Forces while actually retaining in full measure the structure and equipment of the NATO armed forces and thus attaining military preponderance.

Nuclear, Space Arms Talks Continue in Geneva
LD181848 Moscow TASS in English 1814 GMT
18 Mar 88

[Text] Geneva March 18 TASS—Participants in the meetings held during the past week within the framework of Soviet-American talks on nuclear and space armaments continued to work out joint draft texts of a protocol on inspections, a protocol on reequipment or elimination and a memorandum on agreement concerning the initial data, in other words, of the documents which will supplement a treaty on a 50 per cent reduction of strategic offensive armaments by the U.S. and the USSR which is being prepared today.

They continued the discussions aimed at bringing closer together the approaches of countries concerning the wording of the joint draft treaty on strategic offensive armaments. An exchange of views was held in a specially created group on control problems with the participation of experts, which dealt with control over sea-based and air-based long-range cruise missiles, as well as over mobile launching installations of intercontinental ballistic missiles. The group is continuing its work.

In a group on space weapons the Soviet delegation is consistently working for preparing an agreement on the observance of the ABM Treaty in the form in which it was signed in 1972 and on the non-withdrawal from it during a period of time agreed upon by the sides, i.e. in full conformity with the decisions taken on the summit level last December.

Obukhov Receives Six-Nation Delegation, Document
LD180850 Moscow TASS in English 0733 GMT
18 Mar 88

[Text] Geneva March 18 TASS—A meeting was held here Thursday between Aleksey Obukhov, head of the USSR delegation at the Soviet-U.S. negotiations on nuclear and space armaments, ambassador at large, and representatives of the six-nation group (Argentina, Greece, India, Mexico, Tanzania and Sweden), who handed over to him the text of the declaration adopted by the leaders of these countries in Stockholm in January.

and the United States. The six-nation leaders issued a call for abiding scrupulously by the provisions of the ABM Treaty, preventing the extension of the arms race into space, and halting nuclear weapon tests.

This document commends the treaty on eliminating intermediate- and shorter-range missiles from Europe as the first historic step towards nuclear disarmament, which should be followed by the moves to attain within the shortest possible time an agreement on a 50 percent reduction in strategic offensive armaments of the USSR and the United States. The six-nation leaders issued a

call for abiding scrupulously by the provisions of the ABM Treaty, preventing the extension of the arms race into space, and halting nuclear weapon tests.

During the meeting, it was stressed from the Soviet side that in its work at the negotiations on nuclear and space weapons the USSR delegation is guided by the provisions of the Statement by the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev of January 15, 1986, aimed at ridding mankind of the threat of a nuclear war by the end of the current century.

Ulaanbaatar Conference Ends 17 March

LD171349 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 0955 GMT 17 Mar 88

[Text] Ulaanbaatar, 17 Mar (TASS)—The conference of secretaries of the Central Committees of the fraternal parties of the socialist countries on ideological matters ended in the Mongolian capital today. Taking part in the conference were representatives of the BCP, the MSZMP, the Communist Party of Vietnam, the SED, the Communist Party of Cuba, the Lao People's Revolutionary Party, the PZPR, the RCP, the CPSU, and the CPCZ. The CPSU delegation was headed by A.N. Yakovlev, Politburo member and CPSU Central Committee secretary. The participants in the conference exchanged opinions on several current problems concerned with the new political thinking and the ideological work of the parties at the present stage. A joint document on the results of the discussion was adopted.

'Final Document' Issued

LD182038 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1810 GMT 18 Mar 88

["Final Document Adopted at Ulaanbaatar Conference"—TASS headline]

[Text] Ulaanbaatar, 18 Mar (TASS)—A conference of Central Committee secretaries of the Communist and workers' parties of the socialist countries on ideological matters was held in Ulaanbaatar 16-17 March 1988. Taking part were: for the BCP—Yordan Yotov, Politburo member and BCP Central Committee secretary, and Stoyan Mikhaylov, BCP Central Committee secretary; for the MSZMP—Lenard Pal, MSZMP Central Committee secretary; for the Communist Party of Vietnam [CPV]—Dao Duy Tung, Politburo candidate member and CPV Central Committee secretary; for the SED—Kurt Hager, Politburo member and SED Central Committee secretary; for the Communist Party of Cuba [PCC]—Yolanda Ferrer Gomez, PCC Central Committee Politburo candidate member; for the Lao People's Revolutionary Party [LPRP]—Somlat Chanthamat, Central Committee secretary and chairman of the Propaganda and Training Board of the LPRP Central Committee; for the MPRP—Tserendashiyn Namsray, Politburo member and MPRP Central Committee secretary, and Tserenpilyn Balhaabav, MPRP Central Committee secretary; for the PZPR—Jan Glowczyk, Politburo member and PZPR Central Committee secretary; for the RCP—Constantin Mitea, RCP Central Committee secretary; for the CPSU—A.N. Yakovlev, Politburo member and CPSU Central Committee secretary; and for the CPCZ—Josef Havlin, CPCZ Central Committee secretary.

Those taking part in the conference exchanged views and experience on problems connected with the new political thinking and the ideological work of the parties at the present stage.

It was noted that putting into effect the decisions of the congresses of the fraternal parties and searching on the basis of these for the most efficient approaches to contemporary problems dealing with the development of socialism confirm the topicality of the fundamental accords of the leaders of the CEMA countries at the working meeting in Moscow (November 1986) with regard to the necessity for more productive cooperation in the ideological sphere, as well as in other areas of socialist construction. Such cooperation is particularly topical now that under the leadership of the Communist and workers parties, acting in accordance with the specific conditions and particular features of their own countries, there are profound socioeconomic transformations and restructuring processes underway, and measures are being implemented to expand democracy further, to improve and renew socialist relations, and to develop man's spiritual world.

At the conference stress was laid on the importance of wide dissemination of the constructive efforts of the Soviet Union and all socialist states which advocate removal of the nuclear threat and military-political confrontation, the broadening of dialogue and interaction with all antiwar forces in the interests of lasting peace, the achievement of disarmament, above all nuclear disarmament, international security and cooperation, the establishment of a new world economic order, and respect for the right of each people to free, independent development on the road of economic and social progress. On this level there was much political significance in such events as the international meeting of representatives of parties and movements held in Moscow on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of Great October, and also the conclusion of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles.

At the conference it was stressed that in conditions of the continuing ideological struggle the affirmation of the new political thinking also presupposes the advocacy, regardless of ideological differences, of normal interstate relations and the reaching of mutually acceptable solutions of global problems of mankind in the interests of all peoples. In this connection note was made of the importance of a well-argued exposure of those forces which are striving under various pretexts, including affirmation of the so-called threat from the direction of the socialist countries, to hinder and turn back the process of disarmament that is now starting, and to hamper the improvement of the international situation.

At the conference proposals were put forward on stepping up research into theoretical and practical questions of modern socialism and current problems of world development on the basis of the creative enrichment of Marxism-Leninism and scientific socialism. There was particular interest in exchanging the experience of the ideological support of important and in many ways analogous processes in the life of socialist countries, such

as further improving the methods of leadership of society by the Communist and workers' parties, intensification of the national economy, development of the political system of socialism, and raising the public activity of the working masses and of the individual.

There was an exchange of experience of mass information media coverage of the daily life of socialist countries, the creative activity of their peoples in implementing the program of socioeconomic development, their achievements, and the problems being solved by them in all their diversity. It was noted that the press, radio, and television were called upon to do everything to promote the comprehensive cooperation of socialism countries, the enrichment of content and forms of internationalist links between party, state, economic, and public organizations, the discovery and increasing of the creative potential of socialism, the exchange of frontranking experience of socialist construction, and the guaranteeing of the full and objective reflection of the processes and phenomena taking place in the countries of socialism. The conclusion was drawn that no small reserves exist in this field.

Well-developed coverage of the real achievements and prospects in the development of human rights under socialism, and of the unfounded nature of its adversaries' claims to be defenders of the human rights which are continually flouted in capitalist society, is an urgent task.

At the conference there also was examination of the fundamental questions of the further development of cooperation among socialist countries in culture, raising the quality of cultural exchanges, and strengthening the links between creative unions and organizations and direct contacts of arts figures and creative youth.

The participants in the conference expressed cordial gratitude to the MPRP for the good organization and holding of the current meeting.

The conference was held in a businesslike, comradely atmosphere. Agreement was reached that the next conference of Central Committee secretaries of fraternal parties of socialist countries on ideological questions would take place in Berlin.

CSCE Delegation Highlights Gorbachev Proposals
LD181354 Moscow TASS in English 1250 GMT
18 Mar 88

[Text] Vienna March 18 TASS—The Soviet delegation at the plenary session of the Vienna meeting of representatives of the states-participants in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe drew attention to the important Soviet initiatives on strengthening security in the Mediterranean, which were set forth by Mikhail Gorbachev in his speech at the Yugoslav Federal Assembly on March 16 this year.

The proposals on freezing as of July 1 this year of the number of the ships and of the potential of the U.S. and USSR naval forces staying there, on the notification of each other and all the Mediterranean countries on the movements of naval ships and on naval exercises, the invitation of observers (to) them, and other initiatives put forward by Mikhail Gorbachev in Belgrade have directly to do with the problems under examination at the Vienna meeting and lay a good groundwork for a productive dialogue on problems of strengthening security and stability in the Mediterranean.

Ambassador Yuriy Kashlev, who heads the Soviet delegation, urged the participants in the meeting to step up efforts for reaching at the all-European meeting in Vienna such agreements that would contribute towards turning the Mediterranean into a zone of stable peace, goodneighbourliness and cooperation.

NATO, Warsaw Pact Meeting Held 21 March
LD211235 Moscow TASS in English 1222 GMT
21 Mar 88

[Text] Vienna March 21 TASS—A regular meeting was held here today within the framework of consultations between the Warsaw treaty member countries and NATO on working out a mandate for the talks on reducing the armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals.

Glazunov on Need for Security in Mediterranean
LD191757 Moscow World Service in English
1410 GMT 19 Mar 88

[Viktor Glazunov commentary]

[Text] [Announcer] While making his statement in the Yugoslav parliament, Mikhail Gorbachev spoke with cautious optimism about prospects of curbing the arms race and bringing about disarmament. His analysis of the international situation and new proposals put forward by him have attracted the attention of the world public. Viktor Glazunov elaborates, and this is what he writes:

To speak with cautious optimism is already much in our time. It is a reassuring factor, especially if we recall the recent icy period in international relations. Optimism stands behind the treaty on the elimination of the two

classes of missiles, signed by the United States and the Soviet Union in Washington—the first treaty providing for genuine disarmament. Optimism stands behind the current negotiations over the signing of a new treaty that would cut by half the Soviet and American strategic weapons. They account for the lion's share of nuclear explosives. This optimism is guarded, however, just because NATO, as the recent meeting of its top officials has shown, still favors the principle of nuclear deterrence and thinks about compensations for steps taken on the road of disarmament. This optimism is guarded because of the United States' desire to deploy weapons in space.

It is important, therefore, not to relax but to intensify efforts aimed at rooting out for good the weeds of the cold war, halting the arms race and opening the doors widely to a nuclear free, nonviolent world. There can be no intervals in this work. It is important to head towards the goal nonstop, step by step. And here not only major radical measures are essential, but also such as the establishment of zones in various regions with a low concentration of weapons.

Mikhail Gorbachev laid a special accent in his speech in Belgrade on the situation in the Mediterranean. Today this is one of the most highly explosion-prone regions of the world. The Soviet Union proposed earlier that the level of military confrontation be reduced there. It suggested in particular that the fleets of the Soviet Union and the United States be withdrawn from the Mediterranean Sea. Now the Soviet Union reaffirms this readiness and proposes to get down to the implementation of this program without delay. It suggests that, as a first step, the number of ships and the naval potentials of the Soviet Union and the United States in the Mediterranean should be frozen as of 1st July this year, then the limits should be set on them. It is also suggested that the two countries should notify each other and all the Mediterranean countries in advance about military vessels' movements and about naval exercises, and also invite observers to them.

The Soviet Union is ready to give every possible assistance in working out the principles for ensuring the safety of shipping. The Soviet Union is for examining the initiatives of other countries aimed at promoting peace in the Mediterranean, and this puts on the agenda the question of the convocation of a special conference of the Mediterranean countries and other concerned states. The Mediterranean has always been regarded as a cradle of the European civilization. This is a region where world routes have always crossed, a region that links various continents. It is clear that a greater security in the Mediterranean is a greater security for all.

'International Observers Roundtable'
LD202032 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1230 GMT 20 Mar 88

[“International Observers’ Roundtable” presented by Nikolay Agayants, with TASS political observer Yuriy Kornilov and All-Union Radio commentator Boris Andrianov]

[Text] [Agayants] Hello, Comrades. With blizzards and winds, sudden frosts and snowfalls, winter is, albeit reluctantly, departing at last for all that, giving way to spring. The onset of fine days is, as they say, just a matter of time. As far as the political climate on our planet is concerned, as the political events of the last few days have demonstrated, a genuine thaw is, alas, still a long way off. The fact is that the new thinking, the new approaches in resolving major international problems are having difficulty in getting themselves accepted. The stereotypes of the past, the striving to resolve the issues facing mankind from a position of strength and the spirit of the sad times of the cold war are still alive and kicking among the West's politicians.

This is particularly true of the attitude of the imperialist powers to regional conflicts, to the establishment of a spirit of cooperation and trust, and toward detente and peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. Such an attitude is in sharp contrast to the foreign policy line pursued by the USSR and other socialist states, and to the peaceful initiatives being put forward by them. But let us take things in turn. Thus, event No 1 in the past week was, without any exaggeration, the official friendly visit by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev to Yugoslavia, the Soviet-Yugoslav summit, and the speech by the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee in the SFRY Assembly.

[Andrianov] The foreign mass media, political and public figures from various countries, appraise this event highly, stressing that it has opened up a qualitatively new stage in relations between the USSR and Yugoslavia and that its outcome will be of great international significance. The realities of the foreign political situation as it obtains today, it is noted by the newspapers, radio, and television in many countries, insistently demand a new type of political thinking.

In this context, Yugoslavia's and the Soviet Union's appraisal of the world today coincide. Their policy in the international arena aimed at consolidating mutual understanding, security, and peace in every possible way also coincides or is similar.

[Agayants] The number of responses is absolutely enormous. Reference to them alone would take up the lion's share of our program time. Nevertheless, I would like to cite at least one in detail. Under the heading "Exchange of Ideas, Exchange of Experience," the Polish newspaper TRYBUNA LUDU publishes an extensive article of an analytical nature which says, in particular: Although in the USSR and the SFRY there are different conditions of socialist construction, different methods and means of solving various issues, they do, however, have many related, similar modern problems that arouse mutual interest. What are these? The newspaper answers this question: development of socialist democracy, perfecting of the system of management, transformations in the sphere of the economy, issues of national policy, and acceleration of scientific and technical progress. These

are only a few of the themes which may in the very near future become, or have already become, subjects of a genuine, mutually beneficial exchange of ideas and experience. For my part, I note that today these positive tendencies are, to a greater or a lesser extent, characteristic of the mutual relations among practically all the socialist countries.

[Andrianov] It is important to note yet another thing: During the discussions between Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and the Yugoslav leaders, the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, developing the idea of the equality of rights and mutual respect, stated that no one—and I stress—no one has a monopoly or final authority over the truth. No one can impose their own model for the construction of a new society. Comrade Gorbachev said: Let us study each other's experience. We have a common heritage from our teachers, the classics of Marxism-Leninism, which is scientific socialism. But each side implements these principles, taking the special features of its own country into account, taking into account the international situation and its obligations to its own peoples. The situation is quite clear, the thinking is precise, but, unfortunately, in the past quite a few errors and distortions have been permitted on that path.

Today we are doing everything we can to learn lessons, to ensure that the negative phenomena never recur. It is well known that a great deal was done by Khrushchev and Broz Tito to normalize Soviet-Yugoslav relations. That was a farsighted step. It is clear that today it is extremely important that we should go even further in developing our relations and cooperation, proceeding from the principles worked out at that time. We should creatively search for new sources, stretch out the threads of mutual contacts, and vary the forms that joint efforts take. These are the tasks facing us today.

[Kornilov] When we talk about negative elements in the past, we do so, surely, so that there is no room left for guardedness, suspicion, and distrust, or for nursing grievances, which, as history shows, occur so easily in relations among peoples and are so difficult to overcome later on.

[Agayants] Truth! We must have complete truth if we are to underline the significance of the conclusions we have drawn from the lessons of the past in order to build Soviet-Yugoslav relations firmly and strictly on the basis of complete equality of rights, independence, and mutual respect. Only from a position of a true and honest interpretation of the past, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev said during his speech at the SFRY Assembly, can one fully evaluate what has been done by our two parties to overcome the period of alienation between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia.

[Kornilov] Yes, that conflict when good relations between our countries were disrupted for many years, when the 1945 treaty of friendship, mutual assistance

and post-war cooperation was torn up. That conflict, of course, did great harm, both to Yugoslavia and to the Soviet Union, and also to the cause of socialism. What is instructive, however, is this: Yes, in the annals of Soviet-Yugoslav relations, there are various pages, including as we see, those that we would prefer not to remember, if we are honest about it. However, what has been, has been. This is what I would like to say: For a number of years, I happened to be working in Yugoslavia as a TASS correspondent. Making journalist's trips around that splendid country, meeting all kinds of people—journalists, shipbuilders, peasants, students—always, on sunny days and dull days, I saw and felt, definitely sensed, the extent of the potential of our friendship, of the friendship binding our peoples and how deep were its roots.

[Agayants] Judging from the responses in the Yugoslav press, radio, and television, the talks on further development of all-around cooperation between our countries, in particular, evoked tremendous interest among the public in Yugoslavia. For more than 10 years now, the USSR has occupied first place in Yugoslavia's trade turnover. In its turn, Yugoslavia is regarded in our country as a good, promising economic partner. So the mutual interest in the development and consolidation of these tendencies is, as they say, right before our very eyes.

[Andrianov] However, in order to preserve the volume and dynamics of our mutually beneficial trade, we must not only look for additional reserves, resources of raw materials and goods. The main thing at the present stage is to reorganize the structure of economic relations by extensively developing specialization and coproduction, getting direct contacts going between enterprises, setting up firms and associations with joint capital, and providing a joint outlet to the markets in third countries. As the Soviet-Yugoslav talks showed, both sides are willing to act in that direction.

The talks facing us are large and complex, but entirely practicable. It is also clear that the restructuring of the mechanism of the national economy which is being carried out in the Soviet Union, and the innovations that are a feature of the Yugoslav economy, create favorable conditions and prerequisites for coproduction.

[Agayants] In the course of the Soviet-Yugoslav meetings and talks, close attention was paid—and of course it is easy to see why—to those spheres of international life where the interests of the USSR and Yugoslavia are directly continuous: Above all, to the problems of the struggle for peace and disarmament, the situation in Europe, and the role of the nonaligned states in world politics. Mikhail Sergeyevich expressed a high opinion of the Nonaligned Movement, of which Yugoslavia was, as we know, one of the initiators.

A long and important section of Comrade Gorbachev's speech in the SFRY Assembly was devoted to vital international problems and the new peace initiatives of the Soviet state.

[Andrianov] Another thing I want to draw attention to is this: The foreign media single out, in particular, what the general secretary of the CPSU said about the need to democratize international relations and about our concrete and constructive proposals on the Mediterranean. It seems to me, by the way, that these proposals have caused a certain amount of consternation in the West. In any case, we do not seem to be getting any answer, as yet. The Mediterranean is quite rightly considered the cradle of European civilization. It is the crossroads of the world, a field of the synthesis of cultures, and a space populated by dozens of nations, which make a rich and unique contribution to the development of Europe and of the whole world community.

[Agayants] All this is true, of course. Unfortunately, however—and Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev drew attention to this in his speech to the Assembly—unfortunately, the Mediterranean is also one of the most explosive regions of the world, a tangle of contradictory interests and an area filled with huge arsenals of weapons that, moreover, are still growing. Nowhere more than in the Mediterranean, this enclosed body of water, is there such an ominous, I would say, concentration of naval forces.

[Andrianov] Yes, for the Soviet Union, the Mediterranean is anything but remote and foreign. In the first place, it is close to our southern frontier. In the second place, passing through it is the only sea route linking our southern ports with the world ocean. It goes without saying that we have a vital interest in ensuring that the routes of peace and friendship pass through this region, and not the lines of war and conflict. It was for the sake of this that Mikhail Sergeyevich set forth in Belgrade, in addition to the initiatives that had been put forward previously on reducing military potentials in the Mediterranean, supplementary proposals, including a freeze, from as early as 1 July this year, on the number of ships and the potentials of the Soviet and U.S. naval forces situated there, after which limits would be set for them. These are clear and specific proposals.

[Kornilov] That assessment is also fully applicable to the idea that, in advance of agreement on general measures of trust in the spirit of the Helsinki accords, the USSR and the United States could give each other and all the Mediterranean countries timely notification of the transfer of naval vessels and of military exercises, and invite observers to attend exercises.

[Agayants] Another important aspect of these proposals is the aspect in which it is stated that the Soviet Union will give the utmost support to the drawing up, by the Mediterranean and other interested states of principles and methods for providing for the security of busy sea routes, especially in international straits. Our country also supports the idea of a conference of the Mediterranean and other interest countries to discuss all the key problems of the region. By the way, as regards these proposals, as well, the West remains tongue-tied.

[Andrianov] In his speech to the Assembly, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev has given a clear characterization of local conflicts, sometimes called low-intensity wars. Debunking this soothing and deceptive term, the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee emphasized that for the peoples drawn into armed conflicts, their intensity is measured in sacrifices that can never be made good.

[Agayants] Yes, and the conflicts themselves have long since become international in character, and their extension threatens unpredictable consequences: A flame that flares up there may flash over to other parts of the planet and become the direct or indirect cause of global conflagration. This is true of Central America, Southeast Asia, the Middle East, the Gulf, southern Africa, and, naturally, Afghanistan. We are willing to carry out the obligations we undertook in agreement with the leadership of that republic, but only on condition that all the other interested sides, particularly Pakistan and the United States, also consistently adhere to the conditions agreed upon.

[Kornilov] Well, to get this clear in our minds, let us reconstruct the course of events. The Soviet declaration on Afghanistan—a declaration which has been welcomed by the public of the entire world and in which, as you know, a universally acceptable timetable is laid down for the withdrawal of the Soviet troops—on the understanding, of course, that the signing of the Geneva documents takes place no later than March 15th—this declaration was published on 9 February, almost a month and a half ago. The Geneva talks resumed on 2 March. Very soon, the Afghan side, showing flexibility and a genuinely constructive approach, put forward a proposal which makes it possible to resolve once and for all the question of the timetable for the withdrawal of the Soviet troops. The sides agreed that the troops will be withdrawn over a 9-month period, and that half of them will go in the first 3 months. Seemingly, all the obstacles had been removed—the way to signing the documents appeared to be completely open.

[Andrianov] That is just how the situation, as it was then, was seen by many politicians and many organs of the press.

[Kornilov] Just so. But the tone of the commentaries soon began to change, and not without reason. It was difficult not to notice that the Geneva dialogue had suddenly begun to falter—in effect, the talks were marking time. Why? What had happened? Perhaps some sort of new, unknown, and hitherto disregarded factors concerning the essential problem had emerged? No! The whole trouble was that the Pakistani delegation had performed an about face and suddenly started putting forward various farfetched demands and reservations, departing from decisions that had already been agreed. They started claiming that they had no instructions to sign the Geneva documents. But the essence, the aim, and the real cause of all these maneuvers and zigzags was

that they wanted at all costs to link the signing of the Geneva documents—in other words, the settlement of the external aspects of the problem—with its strictly internal aspects, and with the setting up of a new Afghan Government which in Islamabad they describe as provisional.

[Agayants] Of course, on the basis of the most elementary and universally accepted norms of international law, the setting up of a government is indeed a purely internal affair for Afghanistan.

[Andrianov] That goes without saying. As we know, the policy of national reconciliation is gaining strength in Afghanistan. The Republic's Government is taking steps to create a coalition government. It has expressed willingness to begin appropriate negotiations any time, any place, and on any level with all opposition forces. In other words, Kabul is ready to share power with the opposition, including those who are waging an armed struggle against the government and even those who are directing the operations of the rebels from abroad and supplying them with arms and combat equipment obtained from foreign states. That is a bold and courageous stance. But—and this was again emphasized particularly at a news conference in Geneva on March 15th by the Afghan foreign minister, Abdol Wakil—Afghanistan will never accept a government formed in Pakistan and exported from there.

[Agayants] As far as personal opinion is concerned in this connection—and I have been to Pakistan and met many of the leading figures in that country, including the prime minister—my personal opinion is that the fact that Afghanistan, the people of Afghanistan, are not going to accept a government, if you could call it that, knocked together abroad and delivered to Kabul in a Pakistani transport—that fact, I think, is understood even in Islamabad.

[Andrianov] But in that case, how do you explain the fact that those who have been so zealous in paying lip service to the need to settle the conflict are now opposing that settlement?

[Agayants] Well, an answer to that question can be found, for example, in the pages of the influential Indian newspaper, THE TIMES OF INDIA. The paper writes that what has clearly prevailed in Pakistan is the fear of possibly losing the U.S. political and military support that Washington is giving that country for the purpose of continuing the undeclared war against the sovereign state that is Pakistan's neighbor. By arrogating to itself the status of a frontline country, THE TIMES OF INDIA continues, Pakistan has become one of the main recipients of military aid from the United States, and developments surrounding Afghanistan have served Ziaul Haq's regime as a justification of its militarist course.

[Andrianov] Pakistan, and the United States as well, are stipulating a number of other conditions having nothing whatever to do with the Geneva accords. These represent an attempt to dictate to the USSR and Afghanistan how they should conduct their bilateral relations with each other. Can one, for example, recognize as legitimate the demand that the cessation of U.S. aid to the armed opposition groups should be linked to an end of the Soviet Union's traditional aid to the sovereign Afghan State? Surely it is clear to everyone that the question of Soviet aid to this neighboring friendly country is in no way a subject of the Geneva talks and that posing the question this way is nothing other than direct interference in bilateral Afghan-Soviet relations. Attempts to effect such linkages—if you will pardon the expression—are simply a continuation of the old tactics of complicating and dragging out the Geneva process.

[Agayants] It is quite obvious—and this has been made absolutely clear in recent statements by both the Soviet Government and the Government of the Republic of Afghanistan—that the longer the Pakistanis put off signing the agreements, the later the return home of the Soviet contingent will begin and the greater will be the delay in solving the Afghan problem. To delay its solution, to prolong the bloodshed, is a policy which—I will not shrink from strong words—history will not forgive.

[Andrianov] Undoubtedly, one of the most important international problems is the conflict between the Arabs and Israel. Moreover, it can now be said to have hit the headlines once again in the papers and on radio and television. The reason, we know: the uprising of the Palestinians in the Arab lands seized by Israel in 1967.

[Kornilov] Yes. Tomorrow, by the way, it will be 3 and 1/2 months since the uprising began. It has really assumed the character of the most major clash between the state of Israel and the Palestinian population of the occupied territories.

[Agayants] So what is now happening in the lands seized by Israel prompts us to turn our attention to the prime cause and original source of the Arab-Israel conflict. At the heart of it lies the fate of Palestine—the fate of the Arab Palestinian people, of whom even the French bourgeois journal *LE MONDE DIPLOMATIQUE* has written that they are a plundered people whose one desire is to live in dignity and independence.

[Kornilov] I would add to that description, Nikolay Iuvanovich, by stressing that it is because of the delay in reaching a Near East settlement that the Palestinian people are still condemned to that unenviable fate. Presumably this is also one of the important—very important—factors that have, actually, been the cause of the uprising. The Palestinians do not want to wait any longer, cannot wait any longer, cannot tolerate any longer the colonial regime which the Israeli occupiers have established. That is why they have taken up the struggle and demanded an end to the occupation, and

demanding that the Palestinian people be given the right of political self-determination, the right to set up an independent state. These demands reflect the general line of the uprising, which is not only a mass phenomenon but also an organized one—with the PLO in the role of the organizing force, closing the ranks of the protesters and directing them toward decisive, radical action in the struggle for the just cause of national liberation.

[Andrianov] Even the West European allies of the United States are openly condemning the actions of the Israeli punitive squads. This has worried Washington, and that alarm is understandable. Washington, after all, is fretting about its strategic ally in the Middle East, which, in the present situation, desperately needs breathing space. Hence the new U.S. Middle East initiative.

[Agayants] That initiative, Boris Vasilyevich, is more often known as the Shultz initiative, or the Shultz plan, because it was the U.S. secretary of state who, about a month ago, brought to the Middle East his package of proposals for settling the conflict.

[Kornilov] Incidentally, the publicity and propaganda for that trip and that package has been mounted in a purely U.S. style—or rather, in a purely Washington style. Officials in Washington claimed that Shultz was going to the Middle East on a peace mission, and that he alone was capable of reviving the deadlocked peace process in the region. Meanwhile, the mass media across the ocean were emphasizing that the trip had been undertaken on the personal instructions of President Reagan. Objective observers saw all this as Washington's desire to restore its reputation, which, as we know, had been looking seriously mildewed for a long time. After the armed intervention in Lebanon, after the Irangate scandal, after a U.S. naval squadron had exacerbated the situation in the Gulf, the prestige of the United States, which had been representing itself as some sort of peacemaker in the region, declined sharply. So they decided, evidently, to make up for lost time by launching the so-called Shultz plan.

[Andrianov] Strange as it may seem, during the secretary of state's trip, Washington diplomacy did not make the content of the plan public, and so its content only became known when it had become impossible to conceal it.

[Kornilov] After all, however, there is no hint in it of any universal settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict. The Palestinians are promised some sort of abbreviated autonomy, instead of being given the right to political self-determination. Even local autonomy will amount to no more than a fiction in the conditions created by the regime of occupation. What question can there be of any comprehensive settlement of the conflict if the plan has nothing to say about what will happen to the Syrian Golan Heights, also occupied by Israel, or about the future of the eastern part of Jerusalem, which has shared

the same fate? They plainly intend to offer, as a substitute for all this, bilateral talks between Israel and a united Jordanian-Palestinian delegation. In that unification, incidentally, one can clearly discern the desire to exclude the PLO from the settlement process.

[Agayants] Yes, the plan reeks from a mile off of the spirit of the Camp David deal 9 and 1/2 years ago.

[Andrianov] In general, it can be said that Washington's so-called new Middle East initiative patently has been formulated with an eye on the ruling circles of Israel, although these U.S. proposals have pretensions to a certain objectivity. Shultz himself, for example, asserts that this plan is permeated by the idea of peace in return for territory. It is claimed that Israel will agree to leave the occupied Arab lands if it receives reliable guarantees that it will be assured of peace.

[Kornilov] However, the Israeli rulers have no intention of giving this agreement. This was made particularly clear during the visit to Washington by Israeli Prime Minister Shamir, which took place this week. The head of the Israeli Government was forthright in his assessment of the Shultz plan. He called it a capitulation that, he alleged, would not bring Israel peace. The ending of the occupation of Arab lands and Israel's return to its 1967 frontiers are, according to Shamir, tantamount to suicide by his state, which, so he says, allegedly is threatened by a policy of terror on the part of the Palestinians.

[Agayants] However, in order to make such claims, one needs grounds, weighty and convincing arguments, and as is well known, Tel Aviv has not had and does not have any.

[Andrianov] When bourgeois politicians lack arguments, they quite often resort to fabrication. So Shamir plunged as low as a man can go, as they say. He deliberately is distorting the character of the events going on in the occupied territories. If one is to believe him just for a minute, it emerges that the Palestinians now have not simply risen up against the Israeli occupation there, but that they apparently have started a war against the Israelis, against the existence of the state of Israel. On the

basis of such arguments, if such they may be called, Shamir insists that any negotiations on a peace settlement should be arranged only according to the principle of the separate deal in Camp David. Moreover, this demand smacks strongly of an ultimatum.

[Agayants] One cannot fail to pay attention, either, to the fact that another major element of Tel Aviv's obstructionist policy was confirmed fully during Shamir's visit: its refusal of any kind of contacts with the PLO. It must be said that Washington obviously decided to please Tel Aviv in this regard by timing to coincide with Shamir's visit its decision to close the PLO's permanent observer mission at the United Nations.

[Kornilov] Their conception of opposition is deeply out-of-date. This has been proven time and again by the facts. The facts also confirm that genuine peace in the Middle East can be attained only on the basis of the withdrawal of Israeli forces from all the occupied Arab territories and on the basis of the realization of the Palestinian people's national rights, including their right to self-determination, and on the basis of the guaranteeing of the right of all states and peoples of the region to a secure existence. The only reliable or realistic way to achieve this is the calling of an international conference, with the participation of all interested parties, including, of course, the PLO, and also with the participation of the permanent members of the UN Security Council. It is precisely such a conference that must become a permanently functioning forum, within which negotiations would be conducted and mutually acceptable decisions made. Only in this way is it possible to find a way out of the cul-de-sac in which the resolution of the Arab-Israeli conflict already has lain for so many years.

[Agayants] Mankind is obliged to reach out for new horizons of progress, but it can do this only through joint efforts by all states, united by the feeling of responsibility, mutual understanding, equality, and trust. The nuclear sword hanging over our heads can be stopped only by peoples united in the name of saving our civilization, in the name of peace on earth.

Our program has come to an end. Its participants thank you, comrades, for your attention. All the best to you!

United States & Canada

Reportage on Shevardnadze Trip to Washington

Departure From Moscow

*LD201034 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1000 GMT 20 Mar 88*

[Text] Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, has left Moscow for Washington, where, in accordance with an existing arrangement, there will be a meeting with U.S. President Ronald Reagan and talks with U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz.

The talks will deal with the question that is of interest to us all—the drawing up of a treaty on a 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive weapons.

Seen Off by Nikonov

*LD201146 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian
1024 GMT 20 Mar 88*

[Text] Moscow, 20 Mar (TASS)—E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR minister of foreign affairs, today left Moscow for Washington where, according to an earlier reached agreement, he is to have a meeting with U.S. President R. Reagan and to hold talks with U.S. State Secretary G. Shultz.

At the airport he was seen off by V.P. Nikonov, member of the Politburo and Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; A.G. Kovalev, USSR first deputy minister of foreign affairs; and other officials.

J. Joyce, U.S. charge d'affaires ad interim in the USSR, was among the send off party.

Arrival in Washington

*LD210028 Moscow TASS in English 0020 GMT
21 Mar 88*

[Text] Washington March 21 TASS—On March 20 Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR foreign minister, arrived in Washington. At the Andrews Air Base Eduard Shevardnadze was welcomed by officials of the U.S. Administration, Yu.V. Dubinin, USSR ambassador to the USA, staff members of the Soviet Embassy, correspondents of newspapers, radio and television.

During his stay in the American capital he will meet and have talks with U.S. State Secretary George Shultz. There will be a meeting with U.S. President Ronald Reagan.

Statement Upon Arrival

*LD210140 Moscow TASS in English 0134 GMT
21 Mar 88*

[Text] Washington March 21 TASS—On his arrival in Washington on March 20, Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR foreign minister, said the following:

Our visit, the first after the Washington summit, to the capital of the United States has been taken to implement the understanding between Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and U.S. President Ronald Reagan. You evidently remember that the understanding says that in the period preceding another (this time in Moscow) meeting of the top leaders of our countries, the foreign ministers of the USSR and USA will regularly meet to settle questions pertaining to preparation of this meeting and a new agreement on the next move in the sphere of nuclear disarmament.

February was a month of the Moscow visit by the secretary of state of the United States of America, in March our turn came to depart overseas. The March round in its content will logically continue the February one which, in the opinion of the sides, was highly successful. I hope that the Washington meeting, too, will be as fruitful as the previous one. The impetus of the city where the Soviet-American Treaty on Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles was concluded, will undoubtedly tell on talks on cutting strategic offensive weapons under the conditions of observing the ABM Treaty. For the sake of this purpose, it is worthwhile increasing intensity of air traffic between our countries, making monthly shuttles over the ocean. Taking much effort and energy, they have become for me and Mr. Shultz the working reality which seemed impossible in Soviet-American relations in a comparatively recent past. The frequency and character of our contacts conform to the importance of issues under discussion among which there will be, this time too, human rights and regional conflicts, along with nuclear-space questions.

But, no matter how often we meet in our capitals, every visit to Washington for me and my colleagues is linked with a feeling of agitating novelty. Especially after the unforgettable days of last December when we saw that energy and efforts of our leaders brought a historic result. Thinking of this, we address, even with greater sympathy, the best of our wishes to Washington residents and all citizens of the United States.

Shultz Interviewed Prior to Counterpart's Visit

*PM201509 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Mar 88
Morning Edition p 4*

[Own correspondent A. Blinov dispatch: "G. Shultz: 'Actions Speak Louder Than Words.' U.S. Secretary of State's Interview for Socialist Countries' Journalists"]

[Text] Washington—U.S. Secretary of State G. Shultz answered the questions of a group of journalists from socialist countries in connection with the upcoming visit

to the United States of E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR minister of foreign affairs.

[Question] How do you see the prospects for the ratification by the United States of the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles which was signed at the Soviet-U.S. summit in Washington?

[Shultz] "The examination of the treaty in Senate committees has been under way for 2 months now and will soon be completed. A few days ago I delivered a final statement in the Foreign Relations Committee. In the very near future the committee will sum up the discussion and then submit the treaty for discussion by the Senate as a whole."

In G. Shultz' view "a struggle lies ahead" during the ratification of the treaty by the Senate: A number of senators, and specifically J. Helms, may put forward "amendments" to the treaty. However, the overwhelming majority of senators—according to the administration's estimates more than 80 (of 100)—are in favor of the treaty.

"I believe the treaty will have been ratified by the time of the Moscow summit," G. Shultz said.

[Question] The Soviet Union has withdrawn from the territory of the CSSR and the GDR the missiles which are designated SS-12 in the West. How do you evaluate this step?

[Shultz] "Actions speak louder than words, as the saying goes. I have no doubts at all that the Soviet Union intends to implement the treaty."

[Question] Recently President R. Reagan and you yourself have expressed divergent appraisals of the prospects for the achievement of an agreement on the reduction of strategic arms by the time of the Moscow summit; the President is less optimistic than you. How do you explain this?

[Shultz] "The President and I share the same viewpoint. We regard it as very desirable that an agreement on the reduction of strategic arms be drawn up in time for the upcoming summit. We both agree that it must be a good agreement, rather than an agreement for agreement's sake. We also agree that there are many difficulties which will not be easy to resolve and that, in order to succeed, intensive efforts are necessary."

"It is pleasing to note," G. Shultz said, "that tremendous progress, substantial headway has been achieved toward the aims which were set as a result of my meetings with M.S. Gorbachev and E.A. Shevardnadze in Moscow."

At the same time, a number of difficulties, and specifically the problem of sea-launched cruise missiles, have not been resolved. G. Shultz regards questions of the

monitoring of an agreement as a complex technical problem. Hence the assessments which boil down to: "Maybe we'll succeed, maybe we won't." However, the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles shows that agreements are possible. One of the ensuing conclusions is: Our two countries, which are in a situation of reciprocal hostility, can sit down at a table and reach agreement, and we believe that this will be done.

[Question] How do you assess the Soviet-U.S. dialogue on regional issues?

[Shultz] "It can be quite tough."

[Question] What is the reason for the U.S. refusal to adopt a pledge to cease aid to the opposition forces in Afghanistan in the event of the withdrawal of Soviet forces?

[Shultz] "Ultimately, the United States will accept the role of one of the guarantors of the agreement. However, what is needed is 'symmetry'" (the U.S. Administration is using this term for unjustified demands that the Soviet Union end its existing traditional relations with Afghanistan)."

More on Interview

PM191745 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Mar 88
Second Edition p 5

[PRAVDA correspondent V. Gan and TASS correspondent N. Turkatenko dispatch: "From Possibility to Reality"]

[Text] Washington—On the eve of the upcoming talks here with USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze, U.S. Secretary of State G. Shultz has granted an interview to socialist countries' press representatives accredited in the U.S. capital.

G. Shultz stated that a whole range of important questions of mutual interest would be discussed during the talks. He expressed the view that by the time the next planned summit between the USSR and the United States takes place in Moscow—and the sides are hoping to agree on the date for the summit during E.A. Shevardnadze's stay in Washington—the U.S. Senate will have ratified the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. According to the secretary of state, more than 80 senators are already in favor of ratifying the treaty. However, "Senator Helms and probably some other legislators also will introduce a series of amendments to the treaty, so a struggle lies ahead." "We are confident that the treaty will be ratified," the U.S. secretary of state emphasized, "because it is a good treaty."

Shultz evaluated the fact that the Soviet Union is taking steps to withdraw missiles from the territory of Czechoslovakia and the GDR even before the agreement has come into force as a contribution to confidence building

which corroborates the USSR's resolve to implement the treaty. "I have absolutely no doubt that, just as we ourselves do, the USSR intends to implement the treaty."

Replying to a question as to whether U.S. and NATO plans to modernize nuclear weapons systems as "compensation" for the missiles that are being scrapped do not run counter to the spirit of the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, Shultz declared that "the treaty has no bearing on" these weapons systems and that the United States and NATO in general "pay constant attention to maintaining weapons systems up to date and will continue to do so." He claimed that there was nothing reprehensible in the actions of the Western allies "since the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Pact countries also try to keep their weapons up to date."

These words of the secretary of state reflect the duplicitous stance of NATO which, on the one hand, supports the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles and, on the other hand, displays an obvious unwillingness to proceed together with the Soviet Union toward the total elimination of nuclear weapons in Europe.

Dwelling on the prospects for concluding a treaty on the reduction of strategic offensive arms between the USSR and the United States, Shultz declared: "Both sides take the view that the achievement of such a treaty by the time of the Moscow summit would be very desirable; both sides agree that there are many problems and that resolving them will be difficult." Nonetheless, in his words "the possibility of the conclusion of a treaty does exist and both sides are trying to turn it into a probability and, in turn, into reality."

The U.S. secretary of state said that since his visit to Moscow and his meetings with M.S. Gorbachev and E.A. Shevardnadze "the sides have achieved progress." G. Shultz described both the search for a solution to the problem of "space defense" and the problem of the ABM Treaty—in respect of which "nothing has yet been worked out and which relate more to the conceptual sphere"—as among the most complex problems of the talks.

During the interview questions of the settlement of regional conflicts, including the situation around Afghanistan, were dealt with.

G. Shultz denied that the United States is retreating from the understanding on the settlement [realizatsiya] of the Afghan problem agreed by the Soviet and the U.S. sides. He spoke of "symmetry, of equality as one of the determining principles," and he declared that the potential guarantors of an agreement on a settlement [uregulirovaniye] in Afghanistan—that is, the USSR and the United States—"have reached agreement on noninterference in Afghan affairs."

Further on Shultz Remarks

LD181303 Moscow TASS in English 1222 GMT
18 Mar 88

[Text] Washington March 18 TASS—By TASS correspondent Nikolay Turkatenko:

U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz has granted an interview to Washington-based reporters from socialist countries ahead of his forthcoming talks here with Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze.

He said that the talks would deal with a whole number of important issues of mutual interest.

He expressed the hope that by the planned Soviet-U.S. summit, whose date would hopefully be fixed during the Soviet foreign minister's visit to Washington, the U.S. Senate would have ratified the INF Treaty, although that would not be without a struggle.

Asked if U.S. and NATO plans to modernize nuclear weapons systems as a way of making up for the missiles to be scrapped under the treaty weren't contrary to its spirit, Shultz claimed there was nothing reprehensible in the Western allies' actions since the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw treaty countries "try to keep their weapons up to date" as well.

The remark reflected the double-faced posture of NATO which, on the one hand, supports the INF Treaty and, on the other, demonstrates an obvious unwillingness to proceed together with the Soviet Union to completely eliminating nuclear weapons in Europe.

Answering a question about prospects for a strategic offensive arms reduction agreement between the Soviet Union and the United States, the secretary of state said the President and he "both regard getting a good start agreement done, and done in time for the Moscow summit, to be very desirable".

Shultz observed that both sides agreed that "there are many difficult problems" and were "aware of how hard these problems are to resolve".

Nonetheless, "there is a chance and we'll try to take advantage of that chance and make it turn a possibility into a probability, and then turn a probability into a reality, if we can," he added.

The secretary of state mentioned the "space and defense" problem, the problem of the ABM Treaty, which "haven't been worked out and are more of a conceptual sort", among the more difficult at the START talks.

One cannot but point out in this connection that progress with working things out in this field has been prevented by the U.S. program of building a partially

space-based ABM defense. The realization of the "Strategic Defense Initiative" would extend the arms race to outer space, deal a blow to the ABM Treaty and thereby scuttle the possibility to drastic cuts in strategic offensive arms.

The secretary of state was asked about the U.S. reaction to the proposal made by Mikhail Gorbachev during his visit to Yugoslavia for easing tension in the Mediterranean, one of the most explosive regions, namely for freezing the Soviet and U.S. naval forces there from July 1, 1988, and then setting a limit on them.

Shultz evaded giving an answer on the substance of the question, saying instead that "it's better to roll your sleeves and get to work on double things, such as those that we are working on".

The issue of settling regional conflicts was covered during the interview as well. The secretary of state was asked about an explanation for the fact that Washington has been backtracking from the understanding reached in Washington at summit level on terms for an end to U.S. military aid to opposition groups in Afghanistan.

Shultz denied that the United States was going back on the Soviet-U.S. understanding. He spoke of "symmetry" and "equality" as "one of the guiding principles" and declared that the potential guarantors of an agreement on a settlement in Afghanistan, that is the Soviet Union and the United States, "agree on non-interference" in the affairs of that country.

"Well, sending arms into a conflict-prone setting is interference, so maybe that is the Soviet intention, and we can resolve this problem. I don't know," he added.

It is easy to see, however, that continued U.S. military aid to the anti-government forces in Afghanistan is conducive to protracting the conflict rather than settling it.

Shultz Optimistic on INF Ratification

*LD182207 Moscow TASS in English 2114 GMT
18 Mar 88*

[Text] Washington March 18 TASS—TASS correspondent Oleg Polyakovskiy reports:

Today U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz expressed confidence that the United States Senate would endorse by an overwhelming majority of votes the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles.

In a speech at a conference of young Republicans here, George Shultz emphasized that he was sure that the treaty would be ratified by more than two-thirds of votes, for the merits of the treaty were immense.

Touching upon the general question of relations with the Soviet Union, Shultz pointed out that it was difficult to build these relations because the two countries' interests varied, and because they had different systems.

He said that if the USA could build such relations with the Soviet Union in which there would be more stability and predictability, this, in his view, would meet U.S. interests.

Solton Previews Shevardnadze's U.S. Visit

*LD191523 Moscow World Service in English
1410 GMT 19 Mar 88*

[Yuri Solton commentary]

[Text] The Soviet foreign minister, Eduard Shevardnadze, begins his visit to Washington on Sunday. What results will the visit bring? Here's the view of our observer Yuri Solton, and this is what he writes.

The program of the visit envisages a meeting with President Reagan and several rounds of talks with the secretary of state, George Shultz. An official announcement in Moscow says the talks will be aimed at effectively preparing a Soviet-American summit, scheduled for the first half of this year. Of course no one expects the American President's trip to the USSR to be a purely ceremonial one. When the leaders of the two countries met in Washington in December they signed the treaty on the elimination of Soviet and American medium- and shorter-range missiles. It is important that yet another step will be taken in Moscow toward real disarmament.

Number 1 problem is a 50 percent reduction in strategic offensive arms, provided the ABM Treaty is honored the way it was signed in 1972, and is complied with during a certain mutually coordinated term. This certainly is a complex problem, but as it was agreed in Washington, Moscow still believes it is possible to draft an appropriate agreement for the American President's visit. One thing is needed for that; to strictly comply with the understandings reached to this effect in Washington.

However, sifting the reports about work on the agreement, one concludes that the American side is clearly moving back to the positions it held before the Washington summit. The element of uncertainty has been injected by some statements by the American Administration, like President Reagan's remark that since the agreement on strategic offensive arms should be fair, its drafting must not be made dependent on some specified term. But the unfair agreement would be unsuitable for Moscow either [as heard], so one can't help feeling that such logic only justifies unnecessary stalling. It seems efforts now should be intensified to find mutually acceptable solutions, and then the treaty could be prepared by the President's arrival in Moscow.

Is the American side ready for that? Will the Americans strictly abide by the understandings already reached to reduce strategic arms? Let's hope these questions will get clear-cut answers during Eduard Shevardnadze's visit to Washington.

That was Yuriy Solton's view on the significance of Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze's visit to Washington.

Expectations for Shevardnadze Visit to U.S.
LD201942 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1500 GMT 20 Mar 88

[From the "International Panorama" program presented by Nikolay Shishlin]

[Text] Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze's visit to the United States is starting. It is thought that our foreign minister will meet with the U.S. President and will hold talks with Geogre Shultz, the U.S. secretary of state. What is expected as a result of this visit? Primarily that an exact date will be fixed for the visit of the U.S. President to our country. That in itself is important, but perhaps just as important is that the talks are to decide on the content of the new Soviet-U.S. summit and are to give new impetus to preparatory work for this visit. That touches directly on the task that is of the utmost importance; the democratization of international relations. For without progress toward a nuclear-free and nonviolent world it is difficult to imagine that there could be any qualitative renewal in the nature of international ties.

Yazov Meeting With Carlucci Shows 'New Trends'
LD201950 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1500 GMT 20 Mar 88

[From the "International Panorama" program presented by Nikolay Shishlin]

[Text] There are signs of new departures in international policy. For example, there was a meeting last week in Bern between Comrade Yazov, our defence minister, and Carlucci, the U.S. defence secretary. They discussed military doctrine as well as matters concerning disarmament and the principle of sensible sufficiency—in a word, many issues were discussed. One cannot say that there was mutual understanding on all matters, but in general the meeting was useful. Of course, this is the first meeting in decades between the defence ministers of the Soviet Union and the United States, and that in itself shows that new trends are entering international life.

Carlucci Comments on Meeting With Yazov
LD181938 Moscow TASS in English 1830 GMT
18 Mar 88

[Text] Washington March 18 TASS—Frank Carlucci, U.S. secretary of defense, back from Bern, Switzerland, where he had had meetings with Soviet Defense Minister Dmitriy Yazov, spoke in the ABC "Good Morning America" show.

The ABC correspondent asked what the concrete results on the Bern meeting were.

"The most significant accomplishment is the fact of the meeting, the fact that for the first time in history, in effect, defense ministers of these two countries have had a separate face-to-face meeting. There was one previously on the margins of the summit, but this is the first time we've had a face-to-face meeting. The talks were frank and cordial. We didn't solve all the problems, but we did accomplish some things," the secretary of defense said.

"We did, for example, agree that we should have a set of principles to avoid dangerous military activities", he went on to say. "We agreed on a structure of appropriate military-to-military contacts so our military establishments could better understand each other. And we had the beginnings of a dialogue on doctrine, although I confess I don't fully understand what changes have taken place yet in Soviet military doctrine, but we'll watch with interest".

Comparison of Yazov Bern Meeting With IPPNW

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 18 March 1988 carries in its Second Edition on page 7 a TASS report under the general headline "Meetings in Bern." Comparison of the PRAVDA report with the TASS version published in the 17 March DAILY REPORT on page 6, column two, reveals the following variations:

The PRAVDA report begins: Bern, Mar 17—Army General D.T. Yazov, candidate... (supplying title "Army General");

Paragraph two, last sentence, reads in PRAVDA: ...the arms race, and the destruction of all types of weapons.

On the same day there was a meeting of the aktiv of workers from Soviet institutions in Bern at which D.T. Yazov spoke. (PRAVDA ends, supplying passage.)

Military Chiefs Welcome Yazov Back From Bern
PM181111 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian
18 Mar 88 Second Edition p 1

[TASS reports under the general heading: "Trip Over"]

[Text] Zurich, 17 Mar—D.T. Yazov left Switzerland for Moscow today.

He was seen off at Zurich's Kloten International Airport by Z.G. Novozhilova, USSR ambassador to Switzerland, a representative of the Swiss Confederation's Military Department, and other officials.

D.T. Yazov returned to Moscow the same day.

He was met at the airport by V.I. Dolgikh, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; Marshal of the Soviet Union V.G. Kulikov, USSR first deputy defense minister and commander in chief, Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces; Army General P.G. Lushev, USSR first deputy defense minister; Army General A.D. Lizichev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate; and other officials.

The welcoming party included F. Pianca, Swiss ambassador to the USSR.

Israel's Shamir Concludes Visit to U.S.

*LD181844 Moscow TASS in English 1715 GMT
18 Mar 88*

[Text] Moscow March 18 TASS—TASS commentator Grigoriy Vasilyev writes:

Israeli Premier Yitzhak Shamir ended his visit to the United States. He had meetings with President Ronald Reagan, State Secretary George Shultz and other American officials.

During the talks the sides discussed the "new American plan" of a Middle East settlement put forth by the U.S. secretary of state during his recent visits to the region. Shamir is known to have rejected the plan outright and flatly. The Israeli "hawk" was clearly dissatisfied with the mentioning of a peace conference on the Middle East in the American document.

Judging by reports of news agencies, the main discussions centred precisely on this conference about which the Israeli premier did not wish to listen at all in the belief that it can force Tel Aviv to make substantial concessions. Even a conference the American style, that is a screen behind which separate understandings according to the Camp David scenario are to be rubber-stamped, is not to the liking of Israeli extremists. The Israeli premier was not satisfied either with assurances by the U.S. state secretary that an unsuitable conference would not be called. Shamir insists, as before, on unequal direct talks under conditions of constant pressure on arabs and continued occupation of their lands.

Indicative is the fact that the present visit by the Israeli premier also confirmed other main elements of Tel Aviv's obstructionist policy: a refusal from any contacts with the PLO and continuation of the occupation of the Jordan West Bank and the Gaza Strip where the flames of the people's uprising have been raging for the fourth month. As always is the case, Washington was lavish

with assurances of friendship and support for its partner in the anti-Arab strategic alliance. The USA and Israel are friends and allies forever, said U.S. Vice President George Bush at a dinner in honour of Shamir.

The present visit by the Israeli premier has graphically showed that Tel Aviv cannot make, as before, a realistic and sensible appraisal of the obtaining situation in the region and that it is continuing to thwart efforts aimed at a just Mideast settlement, the only way to which is an immediate convocation of a plenipotentiary international conference with the participation of all interested parties, including the PLO, as well as the five permanent members of the U.N. Security Council.

Congressional Support for Contras, SDI Urged

*LD192151 Moscow TASS in English 2149 GMT
19 Mar 88*

[Text] Washington March 19 TASS—In his regular radio address to the nation made Saturday President Reagan attacked U.S. Congress which, in the opinion of the administration, does not support the White House actively enough in such "vital national security issues" as the rendering of assistance to Nicaraguan contras and the continuation of the implementation of the strategic defense initiative.

The President urged Congress to immediately render additional assistance to the Nicaraguan contras, threatening that otherwise "we will face a national security crises of the first order". Seeking to induce congressmen to fully meet a financial request of the U.S. Administration for the SDI program, the President said that the USSR had been "making extensive progress on its own SDI-like program".

Further on Reagan Address

*LD201055 Moscow TASS in English 1037 GMT
20 Mar 88*

[Text] Washington March 20 TASS—TASS correspondent Nikolay Orekhov reports:

In his Saturday, March 19, radio address to the nation President Reagan attacked the U.S. Congress which, in the opinion of the administration, is insufficiently active in supporting the White House in the issues "vital to our national security", such as aid to Nicaraguan contras and allocation of large sums of money for continued Strategic Defense Initiative program work.

In line with the anti-Nicaraguan hysteria, now being heightened by the U.S. Administration, Reagan accused the Government of Nicaragua of having launched "a major, military assault on the weakened contras, invading democratic Honduras in the process". The United States, Reagan said, dispatched to Honduras an additional contingent of its troops "to send the signal to the governments and peoples of Central America about the seriousness with which we view the situation". He called

upon Congress to immediately grant additional aid to the contras, saying that, ultimately, the United States will face "a national security crisis of the first order."

The President was obviously displeased with the Congressional attempt to somewhat restrict SDI allocations. To impel the congressmen to fully meet the administration's request in that area, the President put into play all, including the obviously contradictory arguments. He said, for instance, that the United States is now "one to two years behind" the SDI schedule and then right away stated that "the actual SDI program is progressing faster than we expected".

The President made use again of unfounded assertions of the White House that the Soviets "have been making extensive progress on their own SDI-like program" in the last few years and may now be "preparing a nationwide defense which would mean a breakout from the restrictions of the ABM Treaty".

USSR, Canada Discuss Disarmament Issues

*LD182138 Moscow TASS in English 1958 GMT
18 Mar 88*

[Text] Moscow March 18 TASS—The latest round of Soviet-Canadian consultations on disarmament issues was held at the USSR Foreign Ministry on March 17-18. Such consultations are held in conformity with the agreement reached between the two countries.

The head of the Canadian delegation David Peel, director-general, administration of international security and arms control of the Canadian Ministry of External Relations, was received by Yuliy Vorontsov, USSR first deputy foreign minister. They discussed in detail the state of and prospects for the process of curbing the weapons race, lessening the threat of nuclear war and strengthening strategic stability at the qualitatively new stage of world politics, the start for which was marked by the signing of the INF Treaty between the USSR and the USA in the course of the Soviet-American summit meeting in Washington.

The sides highly appraised the signing of that history-making agreement, which for the first time eliminates a whole class of nuclear weapons, and declared for building up efforts for further nuclear disarmament, in the first place on concluding a treaty on a 50 percent cut in the strategic offensive weapons.

The exchange of views centered on the most topical problems of the limitation of the arms race, a ban on chemical weapons, an end to nuclear tests and a reduction of the armed forces and arms in Europe.

At the request of the Canadian side the Soviet stand was explained and prospects were evaluated for reaching agreement on a 50 percent cut in the strategic offensive

weapons and the USSR's approach to problems of control and verification connected with specific disarmament issues, in particular the prohibition of chemical weapons and an end to all nuclear tests. The sides noted that their stands are close on a number of issues under discussion which makes it possible to carry on constructive cooperation between them for reaching mutually-acceptable agreements at the Geneva disarmament conference, at the U.N and other international forums.

The sides have agreed to hold the next round of consultations on disarmament issues in Ottawa.

Northeast Asia

Yakovlev Continues Visit to Mongolia

*LD181244 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1130 GMT 18 Mar 88*

[Text] The working visit to Mongolia of Comrade Yakovlev, Politburo member and CPSU Central Committee secretary, continues. Today he made a trip to the Central Aymak [territorial-administrative region], which occupies one of the leading places in the republic for the production of agricultural output.

In the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, a meeting took place between the CPSU Central Committee secretary and the republic's leading ideological workers. A detailed conversation took place about the essence of the deep processes of restructuring Soviet society and the work of the CPSU on ideological guaranteeing of processes of renewal. A meeting also took place between Comrade Yakovlev and party-economic aktiv of Soviet organizations and establishments in Mongolia.

Returns to Moscow

*LD191614 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1530 GMT 19 Mar 88*

[Text] Aleksandr Yakovlev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, returned to Moscow today from the Mongolian People's Republic. He was in Mongolia on a working visit and to take part in an ideological issues meeting of secretaries of central committees of fraternal parties.

At the airport, he was met by Comrade Slyunkov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and other officials.

From 18-19 March, while en route from Ulaanbaatar to Moscow, Comrade Yakovlev made a stop in Irkutsk. He visited Baykal, where he toured the Limnological Institute, the Baykal Ecological Museum, and also the regional scientific library attached to Irkutsk University.

KCNA Cited on 'Team Spirit-88' Exercise
LD211014 Moscow TASS in English 0955 GMT
21 Mar 88

[Text] Pyongyang March 21 TASS—The joint military exercises Team Spirit-88 continuing in the south of the Korean peninsula are an open challenge to the DPRK and the Korean people, create a serious threat to peace in Asia and the world over, says the announcement by the Supreme Command of the Korean Peoples Army issued through the KOREAN CENTRAL NEWS AGENCY. It says that American troops, aircraft and war ships carrying nuclear weapons are being massed in the south of the Korean peninsula and the areas adjoining it. The exercises are a rehearsal of nuclear war.

In view of the extremely dangerous situation which has emerged as a result of the reckless provocative actions of the USA and South Korea, the announcement says, the supreme commander-in-chief of the Korean Peoples Army has ordered that the Army, Air Force and Navy, units of the People's Security Forces, of the People's and Workers' Volunteer Corps and Young Guards be placed on full combat mobilization readiness. The 150 thousand men and officers of the Korean People's Army participating in the construction of civilian facilities have also been ordered to be in full readiness.

DPRK Foreign Ministry Official Visits USSR
PM181451 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Mar 88
Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] A DPRK Foreign Ministry delegation headed by An Ki-chen [as published], chief of the DPRK Foreign Ministry Information Department, was in the Soviet Union 10-16 March.

The delegation held consultations with the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Administration during which questions of Soviet-Korean mass media cooperation in strengthening peace and security in the Asia-Pacific region and, particularly, in easing tension on the Korean Peninsula were discussed. G.I. Gerasimov, member of the USSR Foreign Ministry Collegium and chief of the Information Administration, took part in the consultations on the Soviet side.

The DPRK Foreign Ministry delegation was received by V.F. Petrovskiy and I.A. Rogachev, USSR deputy foreign ministers, and had meetings and talks at the CPSU Central Committee Propaganda Department, TASS, APN, and the PRAVDA and IZVESTIYA editorial offices.

Korean SOVIET UNION Magazine Reviewed
SK170635 Moscow International Service in Korean
0950 GMT 16 Mar 88

[Excerpts] Dear listeners: The March edition of the Korean-language magazine SOVIET UNION has been published. Here, we will scan the magazine:

As you know, last December, in Washington, the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Gorbachev, and the President of the United States, Reagan, signed the treaty to abolish intermediate-range nuclear forces.

Concerning this, the magazine remarks that this is the first step taken along the road toward realistic nuclear arms reduction and, thus, is of particular importance. The magazine comments that it is entirely natural that the treaty has aroused warm support and expectations among the Soviet people, our allies, friendly countries, and the progressive and peace-loving forces of the world. [passage omitted]

As usual, the Korean-language edition of the magazine SOVIET UNION carries articles on Soviet-Korean cooperation. Among them is the article "On Scientific Research in (?Korea)."

Visits to the Soviet Union by leading DPRK scholars contribute toward expanding and strengthening scientific relations between the two countries. This was highlighted during a visit to the Soviet Union by a delegation of the DPRK Academy of Sciences led by its president, Kim Kyong-pong.

Academician Kim Kyong-pong said: We are deeply satisfied with the mutual cooperation we have in science with the Soviets, who have achieved great success over the past 70 years. This success is (?indeed great), and is presently manifested in the development of space, research on organic substances, amalgamation, and laser technology.

As preferential tasks in Soviet-Korean scientific cooperation, Academician Kim Kyong-pong has cited computerization, automation, the development of new technological processes, and scientific geological work. Precisely, research in these areas will realistically contribute toward drastically developing the economies of our two countries in the near future.

Comrade Kim Song-ho, secretary of the Hamhung Municipal Party Committee, stated that a gathering in Khabarovsk was important and profitable. In his article carried in the March edition of SOVIET UNION, he said: The experiences of the party organizations of enterprises in Khabarovsk and of the municipal party committee were no doubt interesting. We could specifically realize how problems in selecting and assigning people are solved. I would like to note that criticism and self-criticism have become an effective tool for socialist democratic development in the Soviet Union. We were

greatly impressed by the work with youths. Finally, I would like to note that the Korean people have a deep good feeling toward the Soviet people and wish them great success in accomplishing their huge tasks.

He noted that the future of the relations between the party committees of the two cities were good.

Soviets Agree To Hold Salmon Talks in April

OW170117 Tokyo KYODO in English 0107 GMT
17 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow, March 16 KYODO—The Soviet delegation head who has been negotiating salmon fishing talks with Japan, deadlocked since Sunday, said here Wednesday the Soviet Union will reopen negotiations with Japan in Moscow in late April. V.K. Dilanov, Soviet chief of the International Affairs Department of the Fisheries Ministry, said Japan's proposals to increase its catch quota to 30,000 tons and to shift the fishing area are still "hurdles" to be overcome.

Annual salmon fishing talks between the two nations began late February in Tokyo, however, they ended in deadlock due to opposing views over fishing conditions. While the Soviet Union increased Japan's salmon fishing quota, it demanded a complete halt to Japanese fishing outside its 200-mile economic zone by 1992, saying instead it will allow Japanese fishing boats to operate inside its 200-mile zone.

Afanasyev Addresses Japanese Editors

LD191739 Moscow TASS in English 1700 GMT
19 Mar 88

[Text] Tokyo March 19 TASS—Viktor Afanasyev, member of the CPSU Central Committee and PRAVDA editor-in-chief, addressed here today editors of the newspaper AKAHATA, central publication of the Communist Party of Japan. He made a report on the reorganization (perestroika) in the Soviet Union.

Afanasyev met with heads of the AKAHATA Editorial Board. During the meeting Sigemitsu Kawamura, AKAHATA editor-in-chief, spoke about the work carried out by the editors of the communist newspaper of Japan.

Viktor Afanasyev and Ivan Kovalenko, deputy head of the international department of the CPSU Central Committee, are staying in Tokyo at the invitation of Japanese Communists for holding consultations between the CPSU and the Communist Party of Japan.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Rogachev Holds Talks With Regional Ministers

Cooperation Plan With SRV

LD201059 Moscow TASS in English 1039 GMT
20 Mar 88

[Text] Hanoi March 20 TASS—Soviet-Vietnamese political consultations were held in Hanoi on March 18-19.

Deputy Foreign Minister of the USSR Igor Rogachev and Deputy Foreign Minister of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam Tran Quang Co exchanged opinions on a number of key problems of world politics. Special attention was paid to coordination of efforts of the two fraternal countries in questions of settlement of the situation around Kampuchea, improvement of the situation in South-East Asia.

A plan of cooperation was signed between the Foreign Ministry of the USSR and the Foreign Ministry of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam for 1988-1989.

Area 'Normalization' Discussed

BK190241 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia
1330 GMT 18 Mar 88

[Text] On 16 and 17 March, the deputy foreign ministers from the Soviet Union, Cambodia, Vietnam, and Laos met to discuss the normalization of the situation around Cambodia and in Southeast Asia in general. Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Igor Rogachev took part in this meeting on behalf of the Soviets.

The four parties noted the positive changes in normalizing the situation with regard to Cambodia, as well as the international public's increased understanding of the necessity to resolve the conflict around Cambodia peacefully. They also noted with satisfaction that the national reconciliation policy being implemented by the PRK Government has received wide support from the Cambodian people both inside and outside the country.

The participants at this meeting expressed their views in favor of continued talks between the chairman of the PRK Council of Ministers, Comrade Hun Sen, and Samdech Norodom Sihanouk. The representatives of the Soviet Union, the PRK, the SRV, and the LPDR noted the significance of the four countries' efforts in the cause of normalizing the situation around Cambodia through political means in the interests of the Cambodian people and for strengthening peace and security in Southeast Asia and the entire Asia-Pacific region. They also reaffirmed the readiness of the Soviet Union, Vietnam, and Laos, and in the future with all states involved in this issue, to assist in resolving the Cambodian problem.

The deputy foreign ministers of the three Indochinese countries talked about their countries' peace-loving, peaceful coexistence, and cooperation policies with other countries in the region. They expressed their determination to defend their independence and sovereignty and their goodwill to resolve border disputes through peaceful negotiations. The Soviet Union highly praised this policy.

The meeting was held in an atmosphere of friendship, solidarity, and fraternity. Following the meeting, Comrade Hun Sen received all the participants who had attended this session.

Naval Official Discusses S. Pacific Operations
*BK210850 Hong Kong AFP in English 0828 GMT
21 Mar 88*

[Text] Canberra, March 21 (AFP)—Soviet warships have little reason to extend patrols to the South Pacific and rarely exercise navigation rights in the area, first deputy chief of Soviet naval operations Dmitriy Komarov said Monday. Vice-Admiral Komarov said in written replies to questions from Australian and New Zealand reporters that Soviet naval patrols in areas remote from the Soviet coast were "a forced counter-measure" to the United States.

"The South Pacific is not such an area and Soviet warships rarely if ever exercise their right to freedom of navigation there," he said.

The exchange, organised by the Soviet Union's NOVOSTI press agency, coincided with a seminar in Melbourne on Soviet ambitions in the Pacific. Former U.S. Navy Secretary James Webb and former national security advisor Zbigniew Brzezinski told the seminar that Australia could not escape the U.S.-Soviet power struggle in the Pacific despite its geographical isolation. Mr. Webb said the Soviet Union had made major inroads into the Pacific since 1968, particularly in the past 12 years, and had about 24 ships backed by aircraft at Cam Ranh bay in Vietnam. The U.S. fleet had shrunk from 839 vessels about 20 years ago to 479 in 1979, Mr. Webb said, adding that he had resigned as Navy secretary this year because he could not agree to defence cuts.

Mr. Brzezinski said the Soviet Union was adopting strategies to reduce U.S. influence in the Pacific and that countries in the region apart from the United States were unable to determine the outcome.

Adm. Komarov said that Soviet interests in the Pacific were purely defensive and commercial. "We simply do not need to send our warships there," he said. "One can only meet research vessels of the Soviet Navy which conduct periodic studies under national or international programs outside the economic zones of coastal states and also training ships that make voyages with cadets."

Adm. Komarov said the Soviet Union had no troops or military bases in Vietnam. Moscow used Cam Ranh bay as a "temporary facility for logistical support of ships of the Soviet Pacific fleet" and had no intention of turning it into a military or naval base, he said. Soviet fishing vessels in the Pacific were engaged in purely commercial activities and had no equipment for intelligence gathering, he said.

Lao-Thai Talks on Border Conflict End
*LD191619 Moscow TASS in English 1610 GMT
19 Mar 88*

[Text] Vientiane March 19 TASS—Talks between government delegations of Laos and Thailand on the settlement of a border conflict between the two countries have

come to a close here. The sides continued to discuss the legal foundations of the settlement of the conflict on the basis of a French-Siamese treaty of 1907. During the talks the Lao side emphasized that the discussion of the border should be based on the topographic maps that are in line with the content of the treaty and a protocol to it.

According to a Lao delegation spokesman, the sides did not reach accord on some legal problems. The Lao Government delegation is ready to continue the talks in Bangkok or Vientiane with a view to resolving the problem once and for all on the basis of respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the two countries in accordance with the international law and the U.N. Charter.

Near East & South Asia

Afghan President Decrees National Election
*LD191955 Moscow TASS in English 1941 GMT
19 Mar 88*

[Text] Kabul March 19 TASS—The election to the National Council of the Republic of Afghanistan will start on April 5 and will be ended on April 14, 1988. This is stated in a decree of President Najibullah of Afghanistan that was published today.

The election to the two chambers of the National Council, Volosi [as received] Jirgah and the Senate, will be held in 91 constituencies. If representatives of the opposition do not take part in the election on those days in their respective constituencies, seats in the National Council will be preserved for them.

The decree of the president set targets to the bodies responsible for the organization of the election. It has been announced that the National Front of Afghanistan and political parties should submit for the consideration of the president in a week-long time the candidatures of senators who will be appointed by the head of state.

The first session of the Central Electoral Commission was held today.

Afghan-Pakistan Talks Resume After Recess

U.S. Forgets 'Promise'
*LD161646 Moscow World Service in English
1410 GMT 16 Mar 88*

[Text] The world public has reacted with interest to the Soviet Government statement on the Afghan-Pakistani talks in Geneva. Here to comment on it is our political observer Viktor Glazunov:

Like many of us, he said, I expected that the Geneva agreements regulating the situation around Afghanistan would be signed by 15 March. These are the agreements guaranteeing the noninterference in Afghanistan's affairs from the outside. If the Geneva accords has been signed

the Soviet Union would have begun withdrawing its military contingent from Afghanistan on 15 May. That withdrawal could have been carried out within 9 months, with half of the Soviet contingent pulled out in the first 3 months. The acceptable timetable for the withdrawal of the Soviet troops is what Pakistan and the United States insisted on. That was, as they claimed, the only stumbling block in the way of a settlement. But as soon as this kind of timetable was agreed upon, stalling tactics were introduced. Preconditions appeared on the scene which had not been mentioned before. The Pakistani side demanded that a new interim government be formed in Afghanistan. This is an obvious and illegitimate attempt to take advantage of the Geneva process for interfering in the domestic affairs of Afghanistan.

Added to this should be the forgetfulness of the United States as regards its promise to stop its military assistance to the Afghan opposition as soon as the withdrawal of the Soviet contingent begins. The United States has put forward instead the demand not mentioned earlier that the Soviet Union should cease giving any help to the Afghan Government.

In short, Pakistan and the United States have held back the negotiations in Geneva. An odd situation has developed: Those who pressed more than others for an earlier withdrawal of the Soviet contingent from Afghanistan are now putting obstacles in the way of such a withdrawal. Both Islamabad and Washington should realize that if the attainment of an agreement in Geneva is postponed, the beginning of the Soviet contingent's withdrawal will be postponed too. The question arises naturally if Islamabad and Washington really want an early withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Afghanistan, if the settlement of the Afghan issue is part of their plans or the existence of the conflict just plays into their hands. Otherwise, why should they artificially delay that settlement when all its problems have actually been agreed upon? To act so means to delay the attainment of peace and concord between the Afghans themselves and to delay the arrival of peace in Afghanistan.

One can also speak about the responsibility that Pakistan and the United States take upon themselves, but we'd like to hope that reason would prevail. After all, the final step that will set the Geneva agreements into motion will eventually be made, and it will be made without delay. The latest statement issued by the Soviet Government confirms that this country is interested in it.

Withdrawal May Be Delayed

LD181454 Moscow TASS in English 1339 GMT
18 Mar 88

["Afghan settlement: A Chance Which Shall Not Be Missed"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow March 18 TASS—By TASS diplomatic correspondent:

World public has received with understanding the statement by the Soviet Government concerning the Afghan-Pakistani talks in Geneva. This is natural, since the point at issue is an effort to settle one of the most protracted and painful regional conflicts. The main point now is not to hamper, rather help all, who are not being hypocritical, but in real fact have a stake in such a settlement, to use that chance. [sentence as received]

Deplorably, there are circles, which quote from the statements by Mikhail Gorbachev and President Najibullah only one component that the Soviet Union and Afghanistan have agreed to set the specific date for the start of the return of Soviet troops home for May 15 this year. These circles are juggling with the date of May 15 as if there is not and there was no other date—March 15—by which and not later an agreement on a settlement was to be signed in Geneva.

The Afghan and Soviet sides are known to have done everything in their power to ensure a positive outcome of the Geneva marathon. Yet things have not yet started moving because of the destructive stand of the Pakistanis and the Americans.

It is understandable to any sensible person that the stand of Pakistan, which insists that an Afghan settlement be linked with the forming of a so-called transitional government, is nothing else but open interference in the home affairs of the Republic of Afghanistan. Both the Pakistani and the U.S. side are attaching a number of strings which have nothing to do with the Geneva accords and constitute an attempt to dictate to the USSR and Afghanistan how they should build bilateral relations.

The Pakistani and the American side have embarked on the path of procrastination and protraction of the talks, but are declaring at the same time that the return of the Soviet troops home should be started precisely on May 15. It is apt to recall in that connection the place from the statement by the Soviet Government pointing out: "Those who hope that they will be able to evade further concluding an agreement, but the date named by us for the start of the return of the Soviet troops home remains unchanged, are under a delusion." It is absolutely obvious if the term of the signing of the agreement is put off, the start of the return of the Soviet troops home will be put off too.

Hope for Shevardnadze Visit

LD191326 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
0330 GMT 19 Mar 88

[From the "International Diary" program presented by Igor Surguchev]

[Text] At the indirect Afghan-Pakistani talks in Geneva, a recess until Monday has been announced. It is expected that the present round of talks, already drawn out through the fault of the Pakistani side, will be final. An

agreement on a peace settlement concerning Afghanistan could already have been signed if Pakistan had not put forward a far-fetched pretext for dragging out the talks.

Islamabad is now insisting on the replacement of the present government in Kabul by some provisional government, although before the talks started it was clear that this question would be solved by the Afghans themselves, and that it should not be linked to other provisions of the agreement concerning the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan during the 9 months from the moment it had been signed.

Pakistan's unconstructive position is being supported by the United States, which, for its part, also demands that the Soviet Union stop giving any assistance to Afghanistan, since Washington, under the conditions of the prepared agreement, must stop military and financial assistance to the Afghan opposition forces.

In this connection, as AP reports, the participants in the talks hope that the forthcoming visit by USSR Minister of Foreign Affairs Shevardnadze to the United States will help clear a path to the signing of an agreement.

Najibullah New Year Address

*LD192109 Moscow TASS in English 2046 GMT
19 Mar 88*

[Text] Kabul March 19 TASS—President Najibullah of Afghanistan has expressed hope for a successful outcome of the Afghan-Pakistani talks now under way in Geneva. Making a TV address today on the occasion of the New Year according to the Afghan calendar, he pointed out that a political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan would be in line with the interests of all the nations of the region and would promote the improvement of the international situation in general.

The whole world is following the developments in our native land today, Najibullah said. Afghanistan should become the first country to fulfill its historic mission on the present complicated stage by setting the beginning of a process of settlement of regional conflicts. In this connection President Najibullah pointed out a constructive stand assumed by Afghanistan and the USSR which found its expression in statements of the government of both countries. Najibullah described the Geneva talks as one of the most important developments of the outgoing year and said that despite the attempts of the Pakistani side to procrastinate the signing of the agreements, the Afghan people are positive that commonsense will get an upper hand, because the people of Pakistan also want peace and security.

Dwelling on the main results of the outgoing Afghan year, the president pointed out that it was a year of the implementation of the national reconciliation policy. The idea of reconciliation won over the Afghan people, including those who are abroad and even those who are fighting arms in hand against their compatriots. The past

year was a year of a historic turn in the destiny of our nation, Najibullah said. The Afghan leader pointed out that since the national reconciliation policy had been proclaimed 120,000 Afghan refugees had returned and 40,000 members of opposition groups had given up the armed struggle. 25 per cent of Afghan people live today in provinces, districts and villages proclaimed to be zones of peace. The fruits of the reconciliation manifested themselves in a final establishment of a many-party and coalition principles in the political life, he continued, in the adoption of the constitution and the election of the country's president. Reconciliation means the state's concern for petty and medium landowners, the drawing of private businessmen, craftsmen and tradesmen into an active participation in the economic life. An all-party conference of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan was held last year. It analyzed from a critical point of view the activities of the party in the past 5 years and worked out a program of the establishment of peace and tranquility in the country.

The Afghan people hope that the new year will become a year of peace, a year of national unity and of high responsibility that should be displayed by all those who love their motherland. This year the situation around Afghanistan should be settled and outside interference in its internal affairs should be discontinued. The first broad democratic election to the National Council will be held in the new year, thousands of Afghan refugees are to return home. The new year should become a year of the consolidation of the country's defenses and the improvement of the fighting efficiency of the armed forces of Afghanistan, a year of the return home of Soviet soldier internationalists who proved to be true friends of the Afghan people. We shall see them off with a feeling of profound gratitude. Soldier internationalists will leave, but our friendship with our great northern neighbour will live forever, the president said. The coming year should become a year of a further consolidation of the independence and sovereignty of Afghanistan, a year of the development of all-round friendly relations with all the countries and nations of the world, Najibullah pointed out.

Kabul Correspondent Interviewed

*LD201943 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1500 GMT 20 Mar 88*

[From the "International Panorama" program presented by Nikolay Shishlin]

[Excerpts] [Shishlin] Generally, I want to note that the actions of external forces sometimes exert a negative influence over the development of the world process, to be more exact, in specific situations in the overall fabric of international life. I am talking, in particular, about the brake being applied to a political settlement of the Afghan problem. It seemed that after the 8 February statement of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and the relevant statement by President Najibullah, the green light lit up on the path of an Afghan settlement. And the

indirect Afghan-Pakistan talks that began on 2 March passed in an optimistic atmosphere. Now, however, the optimism has diminished a little.

We have the chance to talk right now to our correspondent in Kabul, Mikhail Borisovich Leshchinskiy, and to ask him a few questions. Hello, Mikhail Borisovich.

[Leshchinskiy, seen on screen talking from television studio in Afghanistan] Good day, Nikolay Vladimirovich. I am pleased to meet you again on the air.

[Shishlin] The first question is this: What are the negative changes in the position of Pakistan, as was demonstrated in Geneva, connected with?

[Leshchinskiy] Well, I think there are two positions here. First, it seems to me that there is an element of haste, as it were, in these new proposals from Pakistan. This haste is based, in my view, on the confusion that occurred after the statements by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Najibullah on 8 February, in which the stances and timeframes on the major issues were clearly defined. Thus, they hurriedly looked for some sort of counterarguments. The second question is why? Pakistan receives colossal sums, receives them allegedly for the upkeep of millions of refugees, receives the weapons of the armed opposition, and part of this weaponry also settles in Pakistan. The interests of certain circles in the United States also are clear. They need Soviet troops to stay here as long as possible, for they not only gain political dividends from the stay of Soviet troops, but they also understand that this is fairly difficult for us economically.

[Shishlin] Mikhail Borisovich, are you an optimist or pessimist with regard to the outcome of the present round of Afghan-Pakistan talks?

[Leshchinskiy] I think that as a result an agreement will be signed, the barriers will be removed. The grounds I have for this are of the following nature: First, on an objective basis, this already has become imminent. It is essential. There are also many unstable positions, so to speak, in Pakistan in connection with war in Afghanistan. You know that almost once every 2 or 3 weeks there, terrorist acts are carried out, explosions ring out, armed clashes occur between the Afghan opposition and the Pakistan authorities. All progressively minded forces in Pakistan are in favor of an end to the war. Therefore, I am an optimist generally. Here in Kabul, high hopes are being placed also on the meetings of Comrade Shevardnadze in the United States during his visit.

[Shishlin] How are the prospects for the formation of a coalition government looking?

[Leshchinskiy] In accordance with the Constitution recently adopted by the Republic of Afghanistan, up to 30 May, elections to the National Council, that is, Afghanistan's parliament, a two-chamber parliament,

should be held. I think that as a result of these elections there will be some real steps, so to speak, toward the formation of a coalition government. Well, today the situation is this: Approximately 74 percent of those in the government have...[changes thought]...are PDPA members, that is, its members make up 74 percent, and the remainder, 26 percent, are nonparty people and representatives of other parties. There is no doubt that in the course of the elections and in the course of the subsequent debates and discussions in parliament, this ratio will change. I think that the PDPA which, well, is prepared now to bid farewell with its monopoly of power, will have to go over to parliamentary, political methods of campaigning, and form a strong grouping in order thus to influence the state of affairs in the country and the decisions of this legislative body. [passage omitted]

[Shishlin] Having said good-by to Mikhail Borisovich, I want to note that Afghan problems and the matter of a political settlement in Afghanistan are indeed one of the points on the agenda of the talks in Washington between our foreign minister and the U.S. secretary of state. Incidentally, Shultz has made certain semibinding statements on this score.

Perfilyev Conference at Ministry

PM210957 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Mar 88
Morning Edition p5

[TASS report: "Stand Taken by Pakistan and the United States Causing Bewilderment"]

[Text] At a briefing at the USSR Foreign Ministry press center, V.P. Perfilyev, deputy chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Administration, said that the world community had received the Soviet Government statement on the Afghan-Pakistani Geneva talks with understanding. This is natural. After all, we are talking about resolving one of the most prolonged, painful regional conflicts, which could in turn help to eliminate hotbeds of tension in other parts of the world.

As is well known, the Afghan and Soviet sides have done everything possible to ensure the positive outcome of this long Geneva marathon.

However, there has been no progress so far because of the stand taken by Pakistan and the United States. It is clear to everyone that the Pakistani approach, which consists of an attempt to link external aspects of the settlement of the Afghan problem with the formation of a so-called transitional government, is nothing other than blatant interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs.

It is no accident that some of the Western mass media, including those which have no particular sympathy for the Republic of Afghanistan or the Soviet Union, are describing the Pakistani position as irresponsible in their coverage of the Soviet Government statement.

The Pakistani and also the American side are putting forward a number of other conditions which are attempts to interfere in Soviet-Afghan bilateral relations. This is giving rise to bewilderment, even in the United States itself, as such attempts reveal a desire to impede the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan.

Meanwhile the whole world expects the talks to end successfully. People from all corners of the globe are calling for a settlement of the situation around Afghanistan. Public meetings and assemblies are being held throughout Afghanistan.

Answering a question from a correspondent for the Japanese newspaper ASAHI, the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman said in particular: We were counting on an accord being reached in Geneva and the relevant documents being signed by 15 March. If this had been the case, the withdrawal of the limited Soviet contingent from Afghanistan could have begun on 15 May, that is, 60 days after the signing of the agreement. But, as you can see, the documents were not signed on the 15th. Some people are now saying that the date of 15 May should not be changed. But if Pakistan continues to prolong the negotiations, until 1 June, say, how can we possibly stay with the date 15 May?

The Soviet Union has adopted the political decision to withdraw its troops. And we would very much like this withdrawal to be part of the complex of measures for a settlement of the situation around Afghanistan—an international settlement, which must comprise the relevant Geneva documents. But if our wish does not meet with the appropriate reaction from other parties, obviously the question of the withdrawal will also stand differently: When and how will be decided by the Afghan Government and ourselves. But we continue to hope that an international settlement, to which the Geneva talks are dedicated, will nevertheless be achieved.

Pakistani 'About-Face'

PM211331 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian
19 Mar 88 p 3

[Political observer Yuriy Kornilov "Look at Events":
"Who Is 'Slamming on the Brakes'?"]

[Text] "So-called local conflicts are sometimes called 'low-intensity' wars. This mesmerizing term is deceptive. For those involved in armed skirmishes between peoples, their intensity is measured in terms of a cost of enormous casualties. And these conflicts have long had an international character. A conflagration in one place can spread to other regions, and become a direct or indirect reason for a global conflagration. For this reason, settling existing conflicts and, as far as possible, averting new ones constitutes one of the most urgent worldwide problems."

So said M.S. Gorbachev, speaking on 16 March in the Yugoslav Federal Assembly. The USSR's principled position toward regional conflicts is very clearly formulated in these words, including its position toward the grim and painful conflict in Afghanistan.

It is almost 6 weeks since the Soviet Union and Afghanistan made the fundamentally important statements directed at a just political settlement of the conflict. As the Afghan National Front stated in an appeal to all its compatriots to support the peace-loving course of the Afghan and Soviet governments, the Soviet and Afghan leaders by their statements have opened the way for achieving a settlement. Note that their statements were made at a time when, at the Afghan-Pakistani talks being conducted via a representative of the UN General Secretary in Geneva, the elaboration of documents on all aspects of a settlement, including international guarantees of noninterference in Afghanistan's internal affairs, had actually almost been completed. One thing remained—fixing a timetable for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan which would be acceptable to everybody. Moscow and Kabul named the period. "The green light has been given on the path to a settlement!"—so many prominent political and public figures from various countries commented on this new important initiative, with complete justification characterizing the USSR and Afghan positions as a brilliant manifestation of new political thinking.

Yes, it seemed that there could not and must not be any more obstacles on the path to finally unraveling the "Afghan knot." This impression strengthened after the participants in the Geneva dialogue, thanks to the Afghan side's constructive position, agreed that the period of withdrawal of Soviet troops would be 9 months and that half of them would be withdrawn during the first 3 months. But forces wishing to complicate the situation have definitely not laid down their weapons. And the longer the talks in Geneva continued, the more obvious it became that some Western, and not only Western capitals, instead of taking advantage of the Soviet Union's decisiveness and assisting the settlement, prefer to resort to maneuvering, trying to move away from the decisions already agreed. These destructive tactics became completely obvious after the Pakistani delegation stated that, supposedly, it had no instructions about signing the Geneva documents.

Last year, on assignment in Pakistan, I was received by Muhammad Khan Junejo, prime minister of that country and, naturally, I asked the premier what he thought about the situation in Afghanistan. "The importance of a speedy political solution to this problem is undoubted," was the reply. Such positive statements are also being made in Islamabad today, but what is the real political line behind them? Previously Islamabad has almost foamed at the mouth, trying to convince everyone that the withdrawal of Soviet troops was supposedly the stumbling block to resolving the problem. However, now that the timetable for their withdrawal has been

announced, it has suddenly done an about-face and started to say that the main concern is not so much the timetable and the schedule for the troops' withdrawal as the setting up of a new, "transitional" government in Kabul. In other words, attempts are being made to use the Geneva process to interfere in the Afghans' internal affairs, and the obvious fact is being ignored that only the Afghans themselves must resolve the questions of their internal structure and no one has the right to foist any kind of solution on them.

Islamabad interprets in particular the problem of the Afghan refugees who are in Pakistan precisely from this angle. Over a number of years, Islamabad has claimed that this problem (the importance of which no one is about to deny) arose in connection with the arrival of the Limited Contingent of Soviet Troops in Afghanistan. Now that the Soviet Union has proposed starting the withdrawal of troops within a period acceptable to everyone, the very reason for the emergence of the problem, if Islamabad's logic is followed, is being eliminated, and nothing prevents the refugees from returning to their native home. Note that this process is taking place even today: Despite numerous obstacles erected by, incidentally, none other than the Pakistani authorities, 120,000 refugees have already returned home and more than 90 percent of the others are prepared to return to Afghanistan, where the policy of national reconciliation is gathering momentum. And what about Islamabad? It has suddenly announced that what is needed, you see, for a solution of the refugees problem is a "change of power in Kabul"—neither more nor less. What is this if not an unseemly attempt to set Afghans abroad against the Afghan Government, an attempt to turn the Geneva process into a kind of hostage to conditions for creating in a sovereign country a "cabinet" that would suit Pakistan?

A number of other conditions has been put forward by the Pakistani and the U.S. sides which have nothing to do with the Geneva accords and which are an attempt to dictate to the USSR and Afghanistan how they should build their bilateral relations with one another.

And the particularly interesting thing is that, having taken the path of procrastination and of delaying talks, the Pakistani and U.S. sides at the same time state that they would like the withdrawal of Soviet troops to start on 15 May, as stipulated in the Soviet statement on Afghanistan. An odd position, to put it mildly! After all, both the Soviet Union and Afghanistan named the aforementioned date on the premise that the signing of the settlement agreements would take place not later than 15 March. In that case, the interval between the signing of the agreements and their entry into effect would be the 60 days stipulated in the Geneva documents. Considering that the Geneva talks resumed on 2 March, there is every reason to say that there has been quite enough time to finalize and sign an agreement. But because of what might be called the Pakistani side's strange pirouettes, the document has not yet been signed.

So what grounds, one wonders, do those who are trying to avoid concluding an agreement have for thinking that the date named by the USSR for starting the withdrawal of forces will remain unchanged? It is quite clear—and this has been given the utmost emphasis in recent statements both by the Soviet Government and by the government of the Republic of Afghanistan—that if the signing of the agreements is postponed, the start of the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan will also be deferred. All the other assertions that Western radio stations have been making of late are pure disinformation.

The question naturally arises: What is the explanation for Pakistan's unconstructive stance? "Having conferred on itself the status of a 'frontline country,' Pakistan has become one of the chief recipients of U.S. military aid," is the answer given by the Indian newspaper *TIMES OF INDIA*. "The Afghan events have been the justification for the Ziaul Haq regime's militarist course." The magazine *PANORAMA*, published in Milan (Italy), in an article called "Who Is Profiting from the War in Afghanistan," shows that more than 50 percent of the massive U.S. military "aid" to the anti-Afghan opposition ends up in one way or another in the pockets of the powers that be in Islamabad and CIA emissaries.

The attitude to an Afghan settlement is the criterion by which the world can assess the value of the appeals from various capitals for a political settlement of regional conflicts. Time and the course of events will tell how those who are assuming the very grave responsibility, in terms of the destiny of the talks, of avoiding signing the agreements in Geneva, whose successful outcome is awaited by the Afghan people and the other peoples of the world, fare in this "test."

As for the Soviet land, today, as in the past, it is fully resolved, in conjunction with the government and people of Afghanistan, to continue doing all it can to ensure that the long-awaited peace is finally established in the tormented land of Afghanistan.

More on 'Obstacles'

LD211348 Moscow TASS in English 1304 GMT
21 Mar 88

[Text] Geneva March 21 TASS—Afghan-Pakistani talks conducted through the U.N. secretary-general's personal representative Diego Cordovez were resumed here today.

Cordovez will meet in turn with the heads of the Pakistani and Afghan delegations.

The Pakistani side has been deliberately dragging the talks since the very start of the current round, raising a whole number of problems that did not figure in the agenda before.

All that created certain obstacles in the way of signing agreements.

Afghan Foreign Minister 'Abdul Wakil described among the obstacles put by Pakistan the attempts to discuss the issue of the border between Afghanistan and Pakistan, a question that also affects the interests of a third country, India.

Islamabad also persists in its demands for establishing a so-called interim government before the conclusion of the accords and linking American assistance to armed opposition groups with the cessation of traditional Soviet aid to Afghanistan.

New Forms of Soviet-Afghan Ties Developing

PM171907 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian

17 Mar 88 First Edition p 3

[Article by V. Kalygin, deputy chief of an administration of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations: "To Help and Cooperate. The Soviet Union and Afghanistan Arrange New Forms of Economic Ties"]

[Text] The policy of national reconciliation has opened up a quite new direction in our country's economic cooperation with its southern neighbor. It is a question of creating enterprises with USSR assistance and with the involvement of Afghan private capital. The first agreement of this kind was signed in Kabul in April 1987, but it is already possible to speak of this as a very promising direction.

An Afghan Government delegation headed by Sayed 'Amanuddin Amin, the republic's first deputy prime minister, recently visited Moscow. The delegation had talks at the USSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations. A protocol was signed on the further development of cooperation in creating enterprises with the participation of Afghan private entrepreneurs and on improving the mechanism for drawing up deals.

Soviet organizations have now examined more than 100 applications from Afghan entrepreneurs. Contracts have already been signed with regard to 28 projects. They include a bicycle assembly plant, bakeries, salt purification shops, and confectionery factories. The bicycle assembly plant produced its first output in January. A further 15 contracts are expected to be signed in the very near future, including comparatively large projects: a spinning mill in Kabul, an enterprise for production of rubber footwear, a wool-washing factory, poultry farms, installations for oxygen production....

"For Afghanistan, which spends considerable sums on importing essentials," Muhammad Hakim, president of the country's Chamber of Commerce and Industry, said, "it is extremely important to develop its own production of such goods. The Soviet Union's granting of state credit to the tune of R50 million has given us hope that

we will be able to reduce a section of imports. Initially Afghan businessmen had certain doubts about such plans. However, we have now succeeded in awakening interest in investing capital in the production sphere."

Soviet-Afghan cooperation projects as a whole today produce approximately 60 percent of all Afghanistan's industrial output and 75 percent of its state sector output. More than 1,500 km of hard-surface roads in Afghanistan, out of the 2,600 km of roads of this type which the country possesses today, have been constructed with our assistance. Approximately 100,000 skilled Afghan workers have been trained on aid projects over more than 30 years.

The Soviet Union's assistance in developing natural resources is of special significance for Afghanistan. Joint efforts by Soviet and Afghan geologists in the north of the country have brought to light natural gas deposits, on which basis two large facilities have been constructed—Khvajah Gugerbak and Jar Quduq.

Under the conditions of the restructuring of the USSR's foreign economic ties, other new forms of Soviet-Afghan cooperation are also being elaborated. One of them is the establishment of direct ties between individual USSR republics, oblasts, and cities and Afghan provinces and cities. Thus, RSFSR oblasts have established direct ties with the Farah, Nangarhar, Helmand, and Kabul Provinces, and Moscow with the city of Kabul.

Italian Sentenced by Afghan Court for Espionage

LD172344 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian

1745 GMT 17 Mar 88

[From the "International Diary" program presented by Sergey Pravdin]

[Text] Italian citizen Fausto Biloslavo has been in court in Kabul. Recently, several Western countries' citizens have been before the Afghan Revolutionary Court on charges of espionage, illegal crossing of the Afghan border, or causing damage to the national interests of the republic. All of them have been made to answer. Our correspondent Aleksandr Shkirando reports from Kabul:

The 26-year-old Italian from the city of Trieste failed to finish his studies at the faculty of social sciences at the university of his native city, but he has already managed to illegally visit Afghanistan several times. In 1983 Fausto Bolislavo, having established contact with Gaylani, one of the leaders of the Alliance of Seven, twice crossed the Afghan border with a gang of extremists. The video footage of successful operations by the mujahidin in the provinces of Paktia and Paktika was then sold by him to television companies of Italy, France, and the United States for ample sums. Photographs he took in hot spots in Afghanistan were also sold to newspapers of Western countries.

The second visit to Afghanistan of this so-called journalist took place in 1987. That time he worked in Panjshir, under the protection of the gang led by Ahmad Shah Mas'ud, which provided him with everything he required and created the right conditions to enable him to shoot some film. The chief objective being, in his own admission, to take pictures of Soviet and Afghan troops at the Afghan border, to obtain data on armaments, troop strengths, and methods of conducting warfare.

Altogether, over the period of his illegal stay in the Afghan territory, he managed to shoot more than 50 films, which he shipped out to the United States, receiving 30 million lira in payment. Despite all this, the career of this so-called journalist did not end very successfully for him. Last October, he was arrested by Afghan security forces in Laghman Province.

I asked court chairman Fazl Ahmad to tell us about the sentence given to Fausto Biloslavo.

[Begin Ahmad recording in vernacular, fading into Russian translation] All Fausto Biloslavo's actions during his illegal stay in the Afghan territory fall under the definition of espionage. As to the footage shot by him with the help of Afghan extremists, they were handed over by him to Western countries to be used to the detriment of Afghanistan's national interests. By a court decision, Italian citizen Fausto Biloslavo has been sentenced to 7 years in prison. [end recording]

Arab League Committee Holds Moscow Talks

Received by Shevardnadze

LD181915 Moscow TASS in English 1840 GMT
18 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 18 TASS—Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, met today with a delegation of the "Committee of Seven" of the League of Arab States (LAS) consisting of Ahmed Taleb Ibrahim, Algerian minister of foreign affairs, Faruq al-Shar, Syrian minister of foreign affairs, Taieb Sahbani, secretary of state to the Tunisian minister of foreign affairs, Faruq Qaddumi, head of the Political Department of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) as well as Chedli Klibi, secretary general of the LAS.

The sides were unanimous that genuine peace in the Middle East could be achieved only on the basis of Israeli troops withdrawal from all occupied Arab territories, the exercise of the national rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to self-determination, and the ensurance of the right of all states and peoples of the region to safe existence. The only reliable and realistic way to that is to convene an international conference with the participation of all the parties concerned, including the PLO as well as the permanent members of the United Nations Security Council. It was pointed out

that such a conference should be a permanently functioning forum within the framework of which talks would be held and mutually-acceptable decisions taken.

Eduard Shevardnadze informed the delegation of the Soviet-U.S. contacts on a Middle-East settlement, including the recent meeting with the personal envoy of the U.S. secretary of state.

The participants in the talks expressed the view that the main criterion when evaluating the U.S. proposals should be extent to which they accord with the task of achieving a comprehensive and lasting Mid-East settlement with due regard for the balance of interests of all the parties involved in the conflict.

The sides declared for the earliest termination of the Iran-Iraq war on the strength of Resolution 598 of the U.N. Security Council.

The Afghan issue was touched upon during the conversation. Eduard Shevardnadze reaffirmed that the Soviet Union and the Government of the Republic of Afghanistan were fully resolved to seek the earliest political settlement of the Afghan issue, and that other parties, first of all the United States and Pakistan, should also act constructively. The attention of the delegation members was drawn to the Soviet Government's statement dated March 15, this year, which explicitly pointed out who bears responsibility for the delay with the signing of Afghan-Pakistani agreements.

The meeting was held in a friendly and business-like atmosphere.

Shevardnadze Meets Algerian

LD182002 Moscow TASS in English 1918 GMT
18 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 18 TASS—Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Politbureau of the CPSU Central Committee and minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, met today with Ahmed Taleb Ibrahim, member of the Politbureau of the National Liberation Front Party and Minister of Foreign Relations of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria. He is staying in Moscow as member of a delegation of the "Committee of the Seven" of the Arab League.

The ministers discussed some topical problems of international life. They pointed out with satisfaction the coincidence of stands of the USSR and Algeria on many burning problems of today both of a global and regional scope.

The foreign ministers of the USSR and Algeria reiterated the desire of both countries to work for the consolidation of positive trends that took shape in the international situation, and for a further advance in its radical

improvement. The sides pointed out an important role that the non-aligned movement and the rallying of all the peace-minded forces of the world could play in this process.

The ministers expressed conviction that changes in the sphere of disarmament would create a favourable climate for progress in the settlement of regional conflicts that bring suffering to millions of people in various parts of the world.

The sides expressed mutual satisfaction over a high level of cooperation between the USSR and Algeria in various spheres and the desire to promote its further improvement in the interests of peoples of the two countries.

The meeting was held in an atmosphere of friendship and complete mutual understanding.

Delegation Members Depart

*LD191248 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1152 GMT 19 Mar 88*

[Text] Moscow, 19 Mar (TASS)—Algerian Foreign Minister A.T.Ibrahimi; Syrian Foreign Minister F. al-Shar'; T. Sahbani, secretary at the Tunisian Foreign Ministry; F. Qaddumi, head of the PLO Political Department; and Arab League Secretary General Chedli Klibi, have left Moscow. They were in the Soviet capital as members of the Arab League's "Committee of Seven" delegation dealing with the situation in the Arab territories occupied by Israel.

The delegation members were seen off by Yu.M. Vorontsov, first USSR deputy foreign minister, and by the heads of diplomatic missions of a number of Arab countries accredited in the USSR.

Jordan's Prime Minister Holds Talks in Moscow

Arrives for 'Working Visit'

*LD181921 Moscow TASS in English 1840 GMT
18 Mar 88*

[Text] Moscow March 18 TASS—Zayd al-Rifa'i, prime minister and minister of defence of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, arrived in Moscow today on a working visit.

Confers With Ryzhkov

*LD192224 Moscow Television Service in Russian at
1800 GMT 19 March 88*

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, met with Jordanian Prime Minister Zayd al-Rifa'i in the Kremlin today. He is in the USSR on a short working visit.

There was a detailed exchange of opinions on questions of bilateral relations and ways of developing them further on the basis of understandings reached at the talks between Mikhail Gorbachev and King Husayn of Jordan in December 1987. Expressing satisfaction with the present state of friendly Soviet-Jordanian relations, the sides pointed to the importance of meetings of Soviet and Jordanian leaders to lend these relations a more active character in the political, economic, and other spheres.

When discussing urgent international issues, the sides centered on the need for an immediate settlement of regional conflicts in the Near and Middle East, as well as of the Afghan situation.

Taking part in the conversation, which passed in a friendly atmosphere, were Comrade Kamentsev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and Comrade Vorontsov, USSR first deputy minister of foreign affairs.

Meets With Shevardnadze

*LD191715 Moscow TASS in English 1657 GMT
19 Mar 88*

[Text] Moscow March 19 TASS—Today Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR minister of foreign affairs, met Jordanian Prime Minister Zayd al-Rifa'i. He arrived in Moscow as a special representative of King Husayn ibn Talal of Jordan for consultations on Middle East questions.

The sides noted that the mass actions by Palestinian population on the Israeli-occupied territories and forcible methods used for their quashing drew attention of the entire international community. A situation which needs urgent measures to settle the Arab-Israeli conflict, has developed.

Confirming their desire for promoting a solution of this task, the sides pointed out that the only realistic way leading to a just and all-embracing settlement of the conflict as a whole and its key, Palestinian, problem, is convocation of an international conference with the participation of all directly interested parties, including the PLO, and permanent members of the U.N. Security Council.

After exchanging opinions on the new U.S. plan of a Mideast settlement, the sides reached unanimity that a degree to which any initiatives on the Middle East contribute to achieving a just settlement on the basis of a balance of interests of all parties involved in the conflict, should be used as a criterion for assessing these initiatives. They noted expediency of continuing a substantive talk with the U.S. Administration on issues of a Mideast settlement.

Eduard Shevardnadze and Zayd al-Rifa'i pointed to the danger and inadmissibility of partial separate understandings which interfere with settling the Arab-Israeli conflict and lead to a split between Arab countries. They emphasized the importance of the earliest launching of the mechanism of an international conference during which all interested parties should jointly participate in drafting conditions of a just and lasting settlement in the Middle East.

There was a discussion of the Afghan problem. On behalf of the Jordanian leadership, Zayd al-Rifa'i hailed the Soviet Union's efforts to promote the earliest signing of agreements in Geneva on settling the Afghanistan situation.

Both sides pointed to the need for stepping up efforts for reaching the earliest end of the Iran-Iraq war on the basis of Resolution 598 of the U.N. Security Council.

Eduard Shevardnadze and Zayd al-Rifa'i favoured the further development and strengthening of Soviet-Jordanian relations in the light of understandings reached during the visit by king Husayn of Jordan to the USSR in December 1987.

Seen Off by Kamentsev

*LD192233 Moscow Television Service in Russian
2050 GMT 19 Mar 88*

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Jordanian Prime Minister al-Rifa'i, who had been in the USSR on a short working visit, has left Moscow. At the airport the guest was seen off by Comrade Kamentsev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, Comrade Vorontsov, USSR first deputy foreign minister, and other officials.

Arab-Soviet Symposium Held in Amman

*LD171421 Moscow TASS in English 1251 GMT
17 Mar 88*

[Text] Amman March 17 TASS—An Arab-Soviet scientific symposium on Middle East problems is continuing in the Jordanian capital. It is being attended by public and political figures from Arab countries and the Palestine Liberation Organisation and representatives of the Soviet scientific community.

In the centre of the discussion is the Arab-Israeli conflict and the situation in the Gulf region.

PLO representative Ahmad Dajani in a report, "The Soviet Union and the Arab-Israeli conflict," stressed the USSR's key role in safeguarding peace in the region.

Throughout the conflict, the speaker pointed out, the Soviet Union had adhered to a constructive stand in the fair solution of the Palestinian issue.

Its support for the Arab peoples' struggle was important as never before today, when a popular uprising against the Israeli invaders swept the occupied territories.

Secretary-General of the Co-operation Council for the Arab States of the Gulf 'Abdallah Bisharah called for the earliest cessation of fighting between Iran and Iraq.

Stressing the Soviet Union's positive role in ending the senseless bloodshed, he stated that relations between the council member countries and the USSR were developing on a stable basis and in the right direction.

Shultz Clarifies U.S. Stance on Middle East

*LD181519 Moscow TASS in English 1450 GMT
18 Mar 88*

[Text] Washington March 18 TASS—Following the completion of the visit to the U.S. capital of Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir, U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz appeared before the Senate Budget Committee to clarify the U.S. plan of "settlement" in the Middle East. Spelling out the main provisions of the plan which provides, in part, for limited autonomy for the Palestinian population in the occupied Arab territories, Shultz made it clear that the United States favoured only such an international conference on the Middle Eastern settlement, which would legitimize separate talks between Israel and its neighbours. He emphasized that the United States would not take part in an international conference meant to replace bilateral negotiations.

During the talks held by Shamir in Washington the sides confirmed the inviolability of the mainstays of relations between the two countries. The prime minister, who reflects the views of the extreme right-wing quarters of the Israeli ruling coalition, has rejected, however, even the limited U.S. plan, considering the only mention of the international conference as an encroachment upon Israel's interests. At the same time, the U.S. plan was welcomed by Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres and his supporters. The final decision will be made following Shamir's return from overseas.

Clovis Maksoud, permanent observer of the League of Arab States to the United Nations, criticized the U.S. proposals on the Middle East problem. The ongoing uprising in the Israeli-occupied Arab territories forcefully demonstrates that "the Palestinian rights cannot be overlooked or denied", he said in the National Press Club. The Palestinians should be given an opportunity to exercise the right to self-determination, including its right to participate through the Palestine Liberation Organisation in an international peace conference and also the right to creating an independent state, the representative of the League of Arab States said.

He spoke out in support of the holding of an international conference on the Middle East, which, as he put it, should have the powers to solve all issues stemming from the Middle East conflict in keeping with U.N. Security Council resolutions.

Maksoud also denounced the U.S. decision to close the PLO observer mission to the United Nations. This measure, he stressed, called in question trust in the United States as regards compliance with international law.

Israel, U.S. Cooperate Against Palestinians
*LD171352 Moscow TASS in English 1240 GMT
17 Mar 88*

[Text] Moscow March 17 TASS—TASS correspondent Viktor Lebedev reports:

Washington's decision to close down the mission of the PLO permanent observer to the U.N. is aimed against the entire Palestinian people, the Palestine Liberation Organization, the heroic uprising on occupied territories, said Said Abu 'Imarah, PLO charge d'affaires to the USSR.

Washington is seeking to muffle the voice of Palestinians and to prevent the international community from learning the truth about atrocities of Israeli invaders on Arab lands, showing clear cooperation with the Israeli authorities in the struggle against Palestinians, he told TASS. It is not accidental that Washington took now this action, illegal from the viewpoint of international law, and violating obligations of the USA, the host country of the U.N. headquarters, when Israel is seeking to quash brutally the uprising of Palestinians on occupied territories. Banishing the PLO from the United Nations, Washington seeks to help its "strategic ally" which landed in a blind alley.

A "new" plan put forth by U.S. State Secretary George Shultz also serves the same ends. It is only a version of the Camp David separate deal which was turned down by Palestinians and which substitutes their right to national self-determination and establishment of an independent state for the so-called autonomy.

The present visit by Israeli Premier Shamir has shown for the umpteenth time the complete concord between the strategic allies on the principles of a Middle East "settlement". The U.S. Administration has done nothing to protect unarmed Palestinians murdered by Israeli invaders. In actual fact, the United States approved the Israeli policy of a "mailed fist" towards the Palestinian people, "forgetting its commitment" to principles of protection of human rights, about which Washington bawls at the rooftops, pointed out Said Abu 'Imarah.

Navy Chief Returns From Libyan Visit

*PM211423 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian
20 Mar 88 Second Edition p 3*

[TASS report under general heading "Visit Concluded"]

[Text] Tripoli, 19 Mar—Admiral of the Fleet V.N. Chernavin, USSR deputy defense minister and commander in chief of the Navy, has ended his official visit to Libya. He was seen off at the airport by Captain 1st Rank A.L. Shakshuki, commander of the Libyan Navy.

Admiral of the Fleet V.N. Chernavin, USSR deputy defense minister and commander in chief of the Navy, returned to Moscow 19 March after his official visit to Libya.

Admiral of the Fleet V.N. Chernavin was met at the airport by Army General Yu.P. Maksimov, USSR deputy defense minister, and admirals and officers of the Soviet Armed Forces.

Maghreb Countries' Rapprochement Hailed

*PM161253 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Mar 88
Second edition pp 1,5*

[Own correspondent Sergey Filatov dispatch: "Maghreb: Neighbors Arranging Contacts"]

[Text] Algiers—The idea of creating a "greater Maghreb," chiefly an economic grouping of the Arab countries of North Africa, is not new. Attempts at such unification have been made before, but they produced no tangible results. The start of this year has been marked by another surge of activity in this direction.

The Tunisian president has just ended a visit to Algeria. Since the beginning of 1988 Algerian President C. Bendjedid has visited Tunisia and Libya, and M. al-Qadhafi, leader of the Libyan Jamahiriyah, has visited Tunisia and Algeria. Right at the beginning of February the two of them met with Tunisian President Zine Abidine Ben Ali in Tunisia. The purpose of the contacts is to improve relations and achieve closer economic integration among the states. In the long term it is not ruled out that Libya could join the regional treaty on fraternity and concord to which Algeria, Tunisia, and Mauritania are parties.

Let us recall that the situation was different back at the beginning of last fall. Tunisia and Libya had broken off diplomatic relations in 1985, and the land border between the countries was set about with military fortifications. Algeria's attempts to reconcile the neighbors were not crowned with success. But in early November, the new President Ben Ali acceded to power in Tunisia and at once advocated the normalization of relations with Libya. Diplomatic relations between the states were restored in December, and the doors were opened to the process of easing the political atmosphere in the region.

The results of the aforementioned meetings of the three countries' leaders are reinforced by bilateral and trilateral agreements in the sphere of economic cooperation. Approximately 10 of them have been signed. Those which have already been realized—for example, the commissioned Algerian-Tunisian diesel engine plant—serve as a good example to be copied. In my view, the opening of the land border was the chief result of the talks in Libyan-Tunisian relations. The accord on sending Tunisian citizens to work in Libya is being resumed. And yet it was precisely the deportation of approximately 30,000 Tunisians from there that led in 1985 to the exacerbation of relations between these countries.

The change in the political atmosphere in the Maghreb is also having an effect on the complex relations between Algeria and Morocco. A split occurred between them in 1976, which has still not been overcome. Its cause lay in different approaches to resolving the conflict over the Western Sahara. Morocco considers it part of its own territory, while Algeria supports the Polisario Front, which is waging an armed struggle for the independence of the Saharan Democratic Arab Republic proclaimed after the Spanish colonialists pulled out of the Western Sahara. The disagreements led to the breaking off of diplomatic relations and the curtailment of economic, trade, and cultural ties between the two states. The present activation of Algerian-Moroccan diplomatic contacts gives grounds for speaking of their attempts to normalize relations.

The rapprochement now being observed among North African states arouses the obvious displeasure of imperialist circles. They see the regional grouping of countries as an association which will significantly weaken their economic and political influence. According to NEWS-WEEK magazine, improved relations among the countries of North Africa run counter to the Reagan administration's strategy in the region aimed at isolating Al-Qadhafi. Under the influence of Washington, which is conducting an overt anti-Libyan campaign, other Western countries are also seeking to hinder the development of the internal Maghreb movement.

However, the development of relations among the states of North Africa shows that, by uniting, they will not only strengthen their independence but will also ensure more reliable security for their countries.

Moroccan Muslim Delegation Arrives in Moscow
LD170940 Moscow TASS in English 0613 GMT
17 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 16 TASS—A delegation of Moroccan ulemas arrived in Moscow today at the invitation of Muslim organisations of the Soviet Union. The delegation is led by Abdelkebir Alaoui M'dahgri, minister of religious endowments (awqaf) and Islamic Affairs.

The programme of the delegation's stay provides for acquaintance with the life of Muslims in the USSR, visits to Islam-associated historical places.

The delegation will visit Tashkent, Bukhara, Samarkand, where it will have a possibility to get acquainted with activities of the Ecclesiastical Board of Muslims of Central Asia and Kazakhstan, visit educational establishments in Tashkent and Bukhara.

The delegation is accompanied by Chairman of the Ecclesiastical Board of Muslims of Central Asia and Kazakhstan Mufti Shamsutdin Khan Babakhanov.

New Algerian Envoy Arrives in Moscow
PM171825 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Mar 88
Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under general rubric "Official Reports"]

[Text] Mohamed Yala, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria to the USSR, arrived in Moscow 11 March.

Briefs:

Gorbachev Book Published

Beirut March 16 TASS—Mikhail Gorbachev's book "Perestroika and New Thinking for Our Country and the World" has been issued in the Arabic language by the Beirut Dal Ar Farabi publishers. "Public looked forward to that publication," said Yusef Atallah, the translator of the book. "Dar al-Farabi is planning to meet the requests for the book from other Arab countries. Mikhail Gorbachev's book in translation into English and French was sold out in Lebanon in a matter of days, and the print of the Arabic edition will be a very large one. Realizing the tremendous significance of this work we approach the translation and design of the book with special attention. I believe that we will thus live up to expectations of the readers," Yusef Atallah said in conclusion. [Text] [LD170225 Moscow TASS in English 1023 GMT 16 Mar]

East Europe

'Joint Declaration' From Gorbachev SFRY Tour
PM181741 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Mar 88
First Edition pp 1, 2

[Unattributed "Soviet-Yugoslav Declaration"]

[Text] The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, proceeding from the long-term interests of the Soviet and Yugoslav peoples, declare their constant desire to improve cooperation, to enrich its content, to stimulate the further development of friendly relations between the two socialist countries, and to effectively further the creation of a safer and

fairer world, have resolved to affirm in this declaration the principles and goals of mutual relations, as well as to set out views on basic problems of international relations and views on the way toward the creation of a nonviolent and nuclear-free world, in which the use or threatened use of force is ruled out and all disputes are resolved exclusively by political means in a spirit of equality and for the sake of strengthening international peace, security, and progress.

I.

1. The USSR and the SFRY emphasize the historical role and abiding value of the universal principles contained in the Belgrade (1955) and Moscow (1956) Declarations; namely: Mutual respect for independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity, equality, and impermissibility of interference in internal affairs under any pretext whatsoever. Their consistent implementation played a key role in the normalization of interstate relations and the unfolding of all-around and stable cooperation. The sides will continue to adhere to these principles.

The USSR and the SFRY build and improve their relations on the basis of unconditional respect for the specific features of the ways and forms of their socialist development and for the differences in international positions.

2. The relations of friendship between the peoples of the two countries have long-standing traditions. They were particularly strengthened during the joint struggle against fascism in World War II. Soviet-Yugoslav relations also underwent grave ordeals. The accretions and burden of the past were eliminated thanks to rigorous adherence to mutually approved principles.

The sides perceive the main avenue of their activity in the further deepening of trust and collaboration in all spheres, enhancement of the quality and volumes of equal and mutually advantageous cooperation, and reciprocal enrichment through experience in economic, social, and cultural building with a view to bringing the entire complex of bilateral relations to new frontiers.

They will continue to give particular attention to political dialogue at all levels and to encourage direct businesslike cooperation between political and public organizations, Soviet and Yugoslav republics, regions, cities, and labor collectives, and mutual contacts between citizens.

3. The successful and all-around development of stable and mutually advantageous economic cooperation is of paramount importance for relations in their totality. Relying on the considerable achievements in this sphere and realizing the mutual responsibility for consolidating and augmenting them, the USSR and the SFRY will continue to strive for broader introduction of modern forms of cooperation and long-term specialization and production sharing, and will make joint efforts to

improve the structure of commodity turnover and ensure stable and balanced commodity exchange and economic ties as a whole as the material base of cooperation. These goals are also served by the Long-Term Program for Economic Cooperation Through the Year 2000 and by the participation of organizations from both countries in the implementation of projects contained in the Comprehensive Program for Scientific and Technical Progress within the CEMA framework. The sides will assist the constant expansion of ties in the spheres of culture, science, education, information, and other contacts promoting better knowledge of all spheres of the life of peoples in both countries, and the unhindered exchange of spiritual values. They believe the availability of objective information for the public about the achievements, problems, and policy of each of the countries serves to strengthen mutual understanding and trust between their peoples.

II.

1. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the League of Communists of Yugoslavia assess highly the level of mutual relations achieved and consider them an important factor in stable, all-around Soviet-Yugoslav cooperation and the strengthening of friendship between the two countries' peoples.

They reaffirm their readiness to continue to develop and enrich the content of their relations, acting on the basis of the principles of independence, equality and noninterference, the responsibility of each party to the working class and people of its country, and mutual respect for different ways of building socialism and for their international situation. On this basis they will improve voluntary and mutually advantageous cooperation and constructive and comradely dialogue.

Consistent respect for the autonomy and independence of parties and socialist countries in defining their own paths of development made it possible to eliminate the factors that led to the conflict between the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) and the Information Bureau in 1948. This is of great significance not only for mutual relations between the CPSU and the LCY, but also for the development and establishment of socialism as a world process.

Proceeding on the basis of the conviction that no one has a monopoly of the truth, the sides declare their lack of any claim to impose their own ideas about social development upon anyone else whomsoever. The success of each of their paths to socialism is tested by sociopolitical practice and confirmed by concrete results.

The CPSU and LCY will seek to enrich cooperation and will devote constant attention to political dialogue with a view to the in-depth exchange of opinions and experience on topical questions of socialist building in the two countries and socialism as a world process, and also on

global problems of peace and social progress, equitable international cooperation, and the strengthening of trust among peoples. They will widen and deepen contacts between their representatives at various levels, attaching particular significance to meetings at the highest level.

The sides consider the improvement of socialist self-management in relation to each countries' peculiarities to be a question of paramount importance. It ensures true people's power and freedom of the individual and is a reliable guarantee against administrative and bureaucratic distortions of socialism and against dogmatism and voluntarism.

The experience accumulated by Yugoslavia in the development of the political system of socialist self-management and the course of consistent implementation of the principles of people's socialist self-management in the Soviet Union offer new opportunities for the mutual enrichment of knowledge about its present-day forms and means of functioning.

2. The CPSU and the LCY reaffirm the universal significance of democratic principles in relations among Communist, workers' socialist, social democratic, revolutionary democratic, and other progressive parties and movements, based on their inalienable right to autonomously make decisions on the choice of paths of social development. The CPSU and LCY call for the broadest, equal cooperation among parties and movements, regardless of ideological differences. This cooperation is a requirement of our time and is of tremendous significance in the struggle to resolve acute international political and economic problems, secure the interests of the working class, and promote democracy and social progress.

A contribution was made to strengthening dialogue and mutual understanding by the meeting of parties and movements held in Moscow in connection with the celebrations of the 70th anniversary of October, at which a constructive exchange of opinions on the most important questions of the present day took place in a new democratic atmosphere. This is an expression of their understanding of their historical responsibility to present and future generations for ensuring universal peace, cooperation, security, and social progress.

Communist, workers', socialist, social democratic, revolutionary democratic, and other parties and movements will be able to reaffirm their transforming role to the extent that they promote peace, disarmament and development, and the struggle for freedom and independence, national and social liberation, and the assertion of the principles of active, peaceful coexistence as a universal value in relations among states and peoples.

3. Socialism is at a turning point, on the threshold of the more complete uncovering of material and spiritual potential and the deepening of humanist foundations.

The processes of reforms and radical transformations in the socialist countries confirm socialism's vitality and its readiness to respond to the challenges of the times.

Mankind today faces a crucial choice: It can advance along the path of general progress, or that of the exacerbation of existing contradictions. What path it chooses will depend to a significant degree on the ability of all progressive, democratic forces to offer convincing prospects for improving the world and to answer many new questions that face man as an individual and the society in which he lives.

III.

The problems facing mankind, which are on a scale not seen before, require a realization of the integrated nature and interdependence of the world community, a new political approach and practice, and increased responsibility corresponding to present-day realities.

1. The USSR and the SFRY confirm their commitment to the policy of peace and the independence of the peoples and countries, their equality of rights, the equal security of all countries irrespective of their size and potential, sociopolitical system, the ideas by which they are guided, and the forms and character of their associations with other states, or their geographical position.

They stress the significance of the consistent application of the principles and policy of active peaceful coexistence among all states, the relaxation of tension, the solution of disputes between states by peaceful means exclusively, equitable cooperation and the strengthening of the atmosphere of trust and dialogue, and the creation of the conditions for the accelerated development of all countries, especially the developing countries.

The sides attach special significance to the strict observance of the universally binding principles of the UN Charter, the Helsinki Final Act, and other fundamental international legal documents prohibiting aggression, the violation of borders, the seizure of other country's territories, all forms of the threat or use of force, and interference in other countries' internal affairs on whatever pretext.

2. The democratization of international life is a prerequisite and integral part of the process of creating more just relations in the world which provide for the equitable participation of all states in the discussion and solution of any international problems and in particular those affecting their immediate interests.

The USSR and the SFRY advocate the strengthening of the United Nations as the universal international forum of equal and sovereign states. They advocate the strengthening of the role and enhancement of the contribution of the United Nations to the solution of the urgent problems of the present day in the interests of all countries and the world community as a whole.

3. In the modern world, which is burdened with many problems, a prominent role is played by the Nonaligned Movement whose goals are peace and security for all, equal rights and mutual understanding, the elimination of the lack of coordination [razobshchennost] that exists, the consistent respect of the political and economic independence and dignity of all countries and peoples, their right to the sovereign determination of their own development path, and just economic relations. The nonaligned policy is opposed to imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism, apartheid, all forms of aggression, interference, coercion, domination, hegemony, and discrimination in political and economic relations, and the restriction of international cooperation to the narrow framework of the existing groupings. The activity of the movement of nonaligned countries as an independent global factor outside of blocs is oriented toward expanding international cooperation, overcoming and eliminating the existing barriers, rivalry, exclusivity, and prejudice. The growing role of the movement and of the policy of nonalignment in world affairs meets the demands of the time and the interests of the world community.

4. The USSR and the SFRY confirm their belief that a world free of weapons and the threat of force, in which fear and coercion give way to trust and the stable security and calm of all the peoples and people is attainable. In the modern interdependent world, the security of any country is reliable if it is based on the security of all. The first and decisive step in the realization of these aspirations is the ending of the arms race and the beginning of the irreversible process of nuclear and conventional disarmament with the aim of general and complete disarmament under effective international verification.

The real elimination of the threat of nuclear catastrophe and the universal liquidation of nuclear weapons are the supreme and urgent aim of all the peoples. A start was made on this process by the treaty between the USSR and the United States on the elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, which strengthened mankind's hopes for a safe future. The increased confidence in the feasibility of the ideals of disarmament may become a factor of historic importance.

We can and must urgently embark on the elaboration and conclusion of a treaty on the complete and universal prohibition of nuclear weapons tests under the strictest verification measures in this sphere, prevent the militarization of space—which belongs to all mankind—and also prohibit and eliminate all kinds of mass destruction weapons.

The achievement of these goals requires a contribution from all states, including at multilateral talks. The resources and opportunities—scientific, technological, and material—thereby released must be channeled toward achieving development goals, above all those of the developing countries. This would be a historic turning point in the interests of all countries and all mankind.

5. The USSR and the SFRY, reaffirming their adherence to the spirit and goals of the CSCE, advocate the development and deepening of the all-European process, and the balanced and consistent application of all provisions of the Final Act and other documents adopted by the states participating in the CSCE, which plays an important role in establishing confidence and cooperation on the European continent. They stress the particular importance of observing the provision relating to the inviolability of Europe's existing borders.

The positive processes gaining impetus in Europe must also spread to the Mediterranean region—whose security is closely bound up with European security—to ensure that it turns into a zone of stable peace and cooperation.

6. The sides believe the seats of tension existing on different continents are a constant source of the danger that conflicts may expand, and are a threat to the peace, security, independence, and sovereign rights of countries and peoples in these regions. The speedy settlement of regional conflicts on the basis of the removal of the causes which engendered them should be implemented by political means in line with the principles of the UN Charter, with effective use being made of that organization's potential, and with observance of the legal interests of all states and peoples and their right to determine their own destiny on a sovereign basis.

7. The sides attach great importance to the observance of human rights and advocate their complete and consistent implementation throughout the world. Human rights and basic human liberties are inalienable, indivisible, and interdependent. Those which enable individuals to participate in shaping their living conditions, to enjoy the fruits of their labor, and to directly influence the sociopolitical processes in their country are of particular importance.

8. The USSR and the SFRY are convinced that the interests of the stable economic development of each country and of the world community as a whole demand a fundamental shift in the sphere of international economic relations. They emphasize that it would be in the interests of stability and progress in the world to cardinally resolve without delay the burning problems underlying the crisis of these relations. This particularly concerns the problem of the huge foreign debt of the majority of developing countries, the discrimination against them in trade, and their restricted access to technical and technological achievements. They believe that the stable economic development of each country and of the world community as a whole is possible only with the active and free participation of all countries in economic cooperation and in resolving acute problems of the world economy and international economic relations. The creation of a new international economic order meets the interests of all countries and requires a contribution from each of them.

9. The protection and improvement of the environment, as well as nature conservation and the rational utilization of natural resources, are an important condition for improving the qualities of life and economic development. All this requires the broad cooperation of states. The USSR and the SFRY declare that they will make their contribution to developing cooperation in this sphere.

World civilization is entering a new stage of its development. Never before have the problems of survival, the preservation of the natural environment, and the creation of material and spiritual conditions for a worthy life for all the world's peoples confronted mankind so forcefully.

The human race is capable of scaling new heights of development through the joint efforts of all states, regardless of their social system or ideological and political orientation.

It is in the universal interest to pave the way to a world in which the freedom, independence, and dignity of the peoples and of each individual, as well as life itself and the creativity and all-around development of the person, are the greatest asset. To a world in which all peoples make progress—economic, cultural, and any other—and in which the understanding prevails that we all live on the same planet, share a common destiny, and strive for universal prosperity.

This imposes on all peoples and states a responsibility to the present generation, to future generations, and to history. It demands of everyone new approaches, goodwill, and a new political philosophy based on the understanding that the world is indivisible and interdependent, that the progress of some is possible as part of the progress of all, and that material and spiritual assets and the achievements of science and technology open up new scope for overcoming disunity and for the development of all peoples.

In realizing these ideals and achieving these lofty goals the USSR and the SFRY and the CPSU and the LCY will cooperate with each other and with all other countries and political forces which are conscious of their responsibility for the cause of peace and of universal security and progress.

Comparison of Belgrade BORBA

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian on 19-20 March carries the text of the USSR-SFRY Declaration. The BORBA version has been compared with the Moscow PRAVDA 19 March version published above, revealing the following variations:

Paragraph sixteen, last sentence reads in BORBA:...and confirmed by social progress. (substituting "social progress" for "concrete results")

Paragraph sixteen, sentence one reads socialist, social democratic, national liberation, and other programs. (substituting "national liberation" for "revolutionary democratic")

Paragraph eighteen, sentence one reads in BORBA: socialist, social democratic, national liberation, and other parties...(substituting "national liberation" for "revolutionary democratic")

Paragraph twenty-seven, sentence one reads in BORBA: and mutual understanding, the overcoming of the existing divisions [podeljenost], the consistent respect...(substituting "the elimination of the lack of coordination [razobshchennost] that exist" with "the overcoming of the existing divisions [podeljenost]")

Gorbachev Returns to Moscow

LD181706 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1530 GMT 18 Mar 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Comrade Gorbachev today returned to Moscow from Dubrovnik. Together with Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev the following also arrived: Comrade Medvedev, CPSU Central Committee secretary; Comrade Silayev, USSR Council of Ministers deputy chairman; and Comrade Shakhnazarov, assistant to the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

At Vnukovo airport, Comrade Gorbachev was met by CPSU Central Committee Politburo members Comrades Vorotnikov, Gromyko, Zaykov, Ligachev, Nikonov, Ryzhkov, Slyunkov, Solomentsev, Chebrikov, and Shevardnadze; CPSU Central Committee Politburo candidate members Comrades Demichev, Dolgikh, Razu-movskiy, Talyzin, and Yazov; CPSU Central Committee secretaries Comrades Baklanov, Dobrynin, and Lukyanov; Comrade Kapitonov, chairman of the Central Auditing Commission of the CPSU Central Committee; and other comrades. Among those meeting him was Lazic, SFRY charge d'affaires in the USSR.

West Europe

Ryzhkov Receives West German Bank Official

LD191613 Moscow TASS in English 1600 GMT
19 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 19 TASS—Nikolay Ryzhkov, head of the Soviet Government, received here today F. Wilhelm Christians, chairman of the board of Deutsche Bank AG. They had a detailed exchange of views on a number of questions connected with Soviet-West German bilateral relations, primarily those envisaging a further deepening of economic, scientific and technological ties, including cooperation in peaceful space exploration, culture and arts. Nikolay Ryzhkov reiterated the Soviet Union's readiness to expand a political dialogue

with West Germany and to develop constructive cooperation with it in the solution of topical problems of today, the way it should be done by good neighbours.

[Moscow TV in Russian at 1800 GMT on 19 March in its "Vremya" newscast carries a similar report which adds the following: "Christians noted the FRG's constant interest in the reforms being carried out in the Soviet Union in various spheres of socioeconomic life; he talked about the striving by business people in the country for an expansion of the range of Soviet-West German economic and scientific and technical cooperation. Taking part in the conversation, which passed off in an atmosphere of mutual understanding, were Comrades Antonov and Kamentsev, deputy chairmen of the USSR Council of Ministers."]

They exchanged views on some specific projects whose joint realization would promote scientific and technological progress and raise to a new qualitative level the relations between the USSR and West Germany.

Christians Comments on Visit

LD170240 Moscow TASS in English 0038 GMT
17 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 16 TASS—TASS correspondent Konstantin Savvin writes:

Dr Frederich Wilhelm Christians, Deutsche Bank board chairman, has described the USSR's economic ties with the Federal Republic of Germany as stable. He is on a working in Moscow since the beginning of this week.

Dr Christians said in a TASS interview that many developments of the 70s and early 80s convinced him that the political climate ultimately exerts influence on economic relations as well. "I should emphasize", he went on, "that even in the complex political situation the Soviet Union has never suspended economic contacts with the Federal Republic, it always paid tremendous importance to developing constructively such contacts".

Touching on the announced visits of West German Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl to the USSR and the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev to the Federal Republic, Dr Christians noted that this meeting of the two countries' leaders was necessary for extending and deepening the opportunities for cooperation in production and enhancing its effectiveness.

The chairman of the Deutsche Bank board takes part in a seminar on the utilization of new forms of interaction in economic cooperation between the USSR and West Germany, which is held here. The seminar was sponsored by this West German Bank and the Soviet Chamber of Commerce and Industry.

Throughout the last 15 years, the Federal Republic has remained the USSR's major trading partner in the West. In 1987, trade turnover between the two countries amounted to five billion rubles. According to the figures of the USSR Chamber of Commerce and Industry, the Federal Republic is ahead of Western states by the number of cooperative agreements concluded with Soviet enterprises. Twenty five such agreements have already been signed. A network of Soviet-West German joint ventures has been set up in the USSR. So, in this field West German businessmen hold leading positions among Western states.

It was noted at the talk held Tuesday between Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and Dr Christians that the present visit of the Deutsche Bank chairman to Moscow is a useful action in terms of preparations for the upcoming visit to the USSR of West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl.

Prepoll Status of French Candidates Reviewed

PM161425 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Mar 88
Second Edition p 4

[Own correspondent V. Bolshakov dispatch: "Elysee Palace in Their Sights. Thoughts on the Election Campaign in France"]

[Excerpts] Paris—There are only 6 weeks until the first round of the presidential elections in France: It will take place 24 April. The second round is scheduled for 8 May. On 18 May it will finally be known who the French have named as their president, elected according to the Constitution for a period of 7 years. [passage omitted]

If we look at things realistically, Mitterrand, Barre, and Chirac have the greatest chance of reaching the second round. The socialist candidate, evidently, will be counting in the final on the votes of the PCF and other left-wing forces. Chirac and Barre can only count on each other's vote, and also the Le Pen supporters, although both publicly disown the "National Front." Political observers are already forecasting that Mitterrand will announce his candidacy and go smoothly through to the second round. The question is: Who will be his rival?

"For the first time in the Fifth Republic," the weekly L'EXPRESS writes, "the leading candidates for the Elysee Palace are arguing not about whose program is better—the 'great choice' is over—but who will be able to run the country better."

F. Mitterrand, R. Barre, and J. Chirac, of course, have experience in leading the state, and this is not insignificant. But neither the Socialist Party nor the right has the recipe for ridding France of unemployment and the other crisis phenomena besetting it. Both sides advocate the "austerity economy" which for some years now has been hitting the pockets of millions of people. The difference in the candidates is only in the degree of toughness of this course.

True, the socialists have to their credit their adherence to social programs, the democratization of society, and educational and cultural development. The only area in which the Gaullists can compete is programs to encourage the birthrate and subsidize large families.

In questions of foreign policy, and particularly defense, it is more difficult to ascertain differences. It is well known, for example, that the socialists voted together with the right wing for an arms race 5-year plan (1987-1991) and for the "nuclear deterrence strategy." But, as directly concerns this strategy, and also the prospects for disarmament, Mitterrand and his opponents on the right do have their differences. The socialist president has turned out to be much closer to the age-old concept elaborated by De Gaulle of utilizing French nuclear forces exclusively for the defense of its own territory than is the leader of the neo-Gaullist party, Chirac—not to mention Barre. In advocating nuclear deterrence, Mitterrand at the same time spoke disapprovingly of "the NATO strategy of flexible response." In contrast to the right-wing cabinet, the president supports the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-range Missiles.

Mitterrand's approach to the question of improving short-range weapons in Europe also attracts attention. Thus, in a recent interview with the newspaper OUEST-FRANCE, replying to a question on the debate in NATO between those in favor of eliminating these weapons and those who insist on their modernization as a kind of "compensation" for the elimination of the intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles, the president stated that "there is no urgency to carry out this modernization." "At a moment when for the first time since World War II, the two blocs are embarking upon the disarmament process it would be inopportune and paradoxical to pursue overarmament [sverkhvooruzheniye]," he stressed. "Let us try to reach a balance at the lowest level possible."

At the NATO Council session which took place recently in Brussels, the French president was in favor of searching for ways not to increase but to reduce the various arsenals.

Yet Chirac, who spoke Tuesday [8 March] at a news conference, stated that the French Armed Forces, including nuclear forces, cannot manage without at least some modest modernization. Speaking of the prospects for the country's participation in the process of nuclear disarmament, he asserted categorically: French nuclear weapons are not negotiable. The production of chemical and neutron weapons and the deployment of new missiles—this is the program of the Rally for the Republic candidate.

The position in the right-wing camp is summed up well by a saying currently popular in Paris: "The difference between Chirac and Barre is like the difference between Coca-Cola and Pepsi-Cola." But the keenness of the

mutual rivalry is such that each one of them, as one newspaper wrote, wants the first-round defeat not so much of the socialists' candidate as of each other. Thus Barre's strategy, in the opinion of the experts in the French political kitchen, boils down to getting rid of Chirac in the first round and taking on the socialists' candidate in the second round, using Gaullist votes.

Time will tell who will win.

Danish Communists Told of CPSU Conference Aims
PM171705 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Mar 88
Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Meeting at the CPSU Central Committee"]

[Text] A.I. Lukyanov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, met with S. Auken, chairman of the Danish Social Democratic Party, and S. Christiansen, general secretary of the party, who are in the Soviet Union at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee.

The Danish guests were informed in detail of the course of the development of the processes of restructuring and democratization in the Soviet Union and the strengthening of international friendship among the Soviet peoples. The Danish Social Democratic Party representatives pointed out that the Danish public is sincerely interested in the broad transformations which are taking place in all spheres of Soviet society's life.

At their request questions were touched on regarding the preparations for the 19th All-Union Party Conference, where Soviet Communists will analyze the fundamental results of work under conditions of restructuring and adopt concrete decisions on the improvement of our political system and the role of the party as a political vanguard at the new stage of the country's development.

Finnish Trade Minister Addresses Seminar
LD170415 Moscow TASS in English 0200 GMT
17 Mar 88

[Text] Helsinki March 16 TASS—By TASS correspondent Vladimir Semyonov:

The 1948 Soviet-Finnish Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance has been a solid basis of relations between the Soviet Union and Finland for 40 years now, Finnish Foreign Trade Minister Pertti Salolainen said today.

He was addressing, on behalf of the Finnish Government, participants in a Soviet-Finnish seminar.

The seminar was held at the parliamentary building on the initiative of the Finnish Committee for European Security to mark the forthcoming 40th anniversary of the Soviet-Finnish treaty.

The seminar was attended by Finnish politicians, scientists and businessmen and by a delegation of the Soviet committee for European security and cooperation.

The treaty helped the two countries establish relations of mutual trust and develop multifaceted bilateral cooperation in various fields, the minister said.

He emphasized the importance of Soviet-Finnish commercial and economic cooperation and noted the lively interest evoked in Finland and in its business community by soviet initiatives for the development of Arctic natural wealth.

The seminar emphasised the big importance of the 1948 Soviet-Finnish treaty. It also discussed the situation in Europe, problems of creating a nuclear-free zone in Nordic Europe, and matters pertaining to the further development of relations between the two countries.

Petrovskiy Addresses Stockholm News Conference
LD182117 Moscow TASS in English 1456 GMT
18 Mar 88

[Text] Stockholm March 18 TASS—Vladimir Petrovskiy, USSR deputy foreign minister, who is currently staying here, pointed to a substantive change in the development of Soviet-Swedish relations, which have been elevated to a qualitatively new level. This change, he noted, addressing a press conference on Thursday, has been a result of the meetings and talks between Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Nikolay Ryzhkov, the head of the Soviet Government, and Swedish Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson.

It has become apparent in the course of the talks that the political ideas and the political practices of two countries are developing, as a matter of fact, in one and the same direction, that of overcoming confrontation, developing the fundamentals of cooperation and building a reliable security system all over the world, including Nordic Europe.

Touching upon the consultations with Pierre Shori, secretary-general of the Swedish Foreign Ministry, Vladimir Petrovskiy emphasised that they concerned aspects of cooperation on issues of strengthening universal security and peace, enhancing the role of multilateral diplomacy in resolving the vital problems of the present, above all as regards disarmament. The Swedish representatives were briefed on the development of Soviet-American talks on nuclear and space weapons, on the Soviet Union's firm intention to ensure the completion by the start of the upcoming visit of U.S. President Reagan to Moscow, of drafting a treaty on a 50 per cent cut in the strategic offensive weapons with the simultaneous observance of the ABM Treaty so that the leaders of the two countries could sign it during their meeting. The Soviet Union's interest was stressed in the course of the meetings that the year of 1988 should become that of concluding a convention on the prohibition of chemical

weapons and elimination of the industrial base for their production as well as making progress at the talks on a cut in conventional weapons and armed forces in Europe.

Special attention was drawn to the fact that the third special U.N. General Assembly session on disarmament is scheduled to open this year. It could help towards making the ideas of universal security, which originated here in Sweden and were spelled out by former Sweden Prime Minister Olof Palme, the property of the whole international community and turning them into practical agreements.

It can be noted that the ideas and considerations expressed by us in the course of the consultations met with understanding from the Swedish side, and our approaches are developing roughly in the same direction. Considerable attention was also devoted in the course of the consultations to questions pertaining to a political settlement in various regions of the world, including the Middle East, the Persian Gulf area and the problems around Afghanistan.

Answering the question whether the initiatives set forth by Mikhail Gorbachev in his speech in Murmansk were discussed in the course of the consultations, the Soviet representative said that they were touched upon in general terms. As we understand, he noted, the Swedish side examines these proposals in a constructive spirit so that specific talks be started on a broad range of questions raised there.

Supreme Soviet Delegation Ends Visit to Iceland
LD191514 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1015 GMT 19 Mar 88

[Excerpts] Reykjavik, 19 Mar (TASS)—A 3-day visit to Iceland by a group of deputies from the USSR Supreme Soviet has ended. The group was headed by V.S. Shevchenko, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. The delegation was received by Icelandic President V. Finnbogadottir; S. Hermannsson, minister of foreign affairs; and by leading officials of the Althing (parliament). A meeting was held with representatives of the public and with journalists.

As was stressed at these meetings by the head of the Soviet delegation, the basic aim of the visit by the deputies was to explain to state figures and MPs of Scandinavian countries the large-scale Soviet initiatives of recent times, the attitude of the USSR on key aspects of contemporary world politics, and questions of bilateral relations. Special attention was paid to discussing possible ways of implementing the comprehensive program raised by M.S. Gorbachev in Murmansk on strengthening security, confidence, and cooperation in the north of the planet, including the creation of a nuclear-free zone. [passage omitted]

Both sides viewed the visit by the Soviet MP's to Iceland as extremely useful, that it will undoubtedly serve the cause of strengthening overall peace and will promote the development of traditional good-neighborly relations between the two countries.

Parliamentary Delegation Visits San Marino

Schedule Outlined

*LD182102 Moscow TASS in English 1400 GMT
18 Mar 88*

[Text] San Marino March 18 TASS—A delegation from the Supreme Soviet (parliament) of the USSR arrived on an official visit to the Republic of San Marino, which is situated on Mount Titano in the Apennines, today.

It is being led by Lev Tolkunov, chairman of one of the two parliamentary houses—the Soviet of the Union.

The delegation was welcomed by representatives of this country's Great and General Council, which is its higher legislative agency.

During the visit delegation members will meet with San Marino's captains-regent, who perform the functions of the head of state, the secretary of state for foreign affairs, and MP's.

It is the first official visit by Soviet parliamentarians to San Marino.

The delegation arrived here from Florence where it had met with local officials and visited factories of the Nuovo Pignone firm.

Earlier it held talks in Rome with Italian President Giovanni Gorla, the chairmen of the two parliamentary houses, and MP's. Both sides described those meetings as extremely useful and fruitful for developing dialogue between the Soviet Union and Italy.

The Soviet ambassador to Italy, N. Lunkov, has been attending the meetings.

Received by Various Officials

*LD191410 Moscow TASS in English 1345 GMT
19 Mar 88*

[Text] San Marino March 19 TASS—A delegation of the USSR Supreme Soviet led by Lev Tolkunov, chairman of the Soviet of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet, visited the ancient Republic of San Marino situated on the Apennine peninsula. This is the first official visit by Soviet parliamentarians to San Marino. It is made in reply to a visit by a San Marino parliamentary delegation to the USSR last October.

There were meetings and talks with Gianfranco Terenzi and Rossini Jafferani, San Marino captains-regent, exercising functions of the head of state, with Gabriele Gatti,

secretary of state for foreign and political affairs, and deputies to the Great and General Council, the supreme legislative body of the country.

Greeting the Soviet delegation, the captains-regent pointed out that there were wonderful relations between the USSR and San Marino which differed in their size as well as social and economic systems. Exchanges in parliamentary delegations, they noted, contribute to strengthening mutual understanding, friendship and cooperation between nations. San Marino people, said the captains-regent, are following with great attention the Soviet Union's dynamic foreign policy aimed at strengthening peace and at disarmament. They expressed deep satisfaction with the fact that specific results were achieved on this road. There is no alternative to peace, said the leaders of the Republic.

Lev Tolkunov said in reply that Europe was a home for many nations. Two world wars broke out here. The last one tolled 50 million people. "That is why," said the leader of the Soviet delegation, "our sacred duty, the duty of every man is to turn Europe into a continent of peace and fruitful cooperation." In pursuing its peaceful policy, the Soviet Union proceeds from the fact that preservation of peace is a cause of big, medium and small nations, since the saving of mankind from a nuclear nightmare concerns everyone.

During a talk with Soviet lawmakers, Gabriele Gatti gave a high appraisal of the Soviet Union's foreign policy activities. He expressed deep satisfaction with the state of Soviet-San Marino relations, pointing out that San Marino valued interest and attention to a small republic on the part of such a big power as the USSR. The secretary of state said that San Marino, as a member of the group of non-aligned and neutral countries, would make, in future too, its contribution to promoting further the European process and completing successfully the Vienna meeting.

There was also a meeting between the Soviet delegation and deputies to the Great and General Council of San Marino. Parliamentarians of the two countries exchanged opinions on the development of the situation in Europe and in the international arena, as well as on the prospects for East-West relations. They made a special emphasis on the historic importance of the Soviet-American INF Treaty and the need for its earliest ratification.

During the talk with deputies to the Great and General Council, Soviet parliamentarians described the progress of perestroika in the Soviet Union and top priority tasks facing the Soviet people. Soviet and San Marino lawmakers shared experience of activities of the two countries' supreme legislatures.

U. Barulli, a deputy from the San Marino Communist Party, pointed out that the course pursued by the Soviet leadership in the international arena was a graphic

confirmation of the Soviet Union's desire for peace and disarmament. "We assess highly the Soviet efforts in this sphere," he said, "since questions of security and disarmament agitate people in all countries, including San Marino residents." Representatives of other parties also backed this idea in their speeches.

U. Barulli noted that the San Marino Communist Party, for which a quarter of the electorate votes, has been running the country in a coalition with other parties for a decade. The main aim of the party was and is protection of the interests of working people of the Republic, he said.

The delegation of the USSR Supreme Soviet familiarized themselves with cultural and social establishments of San Marino.

Latin America & Caribbean

'Text' of TASS Statement on Central America
LD191859 Moscow TASS in English 1847 GMT
19 Mar 88

[**"Urgent—TASS—Statement"**—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow March 19 TASS—Follows a full text of the TASS statement published here today:

"A rather serious deterioration of the situation has been taking place in Central America in the past several days. On the decision of the U.S. Administration additional military units with a strength of over 3,000 were transferred to Honduras. Washington makes no secret of the fact that the main purpose of this step is to exert military pressure on Nicaragua and, as the U.S. Administration puts it, to signal to the governments and peoples of Central America the seriousness with which the U.S. Government regards the existing situation.

"It is not the first time that Washington, which pursues a policy of open pressure on Nicaragua and other Central American countries, resorts to direct military threats under various pretexts. As a rule, it takes place exactly at the time when signs of the lessening of tension appear and real ways of achieving a political settlement are outlined. Such a favourable situation is taking shape today. As a result of the efforts of the Contadora Group and the Support Group, as well as of Central American countries themselves which are actively supported by Latin American and world public opinion, the negotiating process aimed at achieving a mutually acceptable solution to the problems existing in the region was dramatically stepped up. The Guatemala accords and the decisions of presidents of five central American countries at a meeting in San Jose met with broad support. The governments of those countries made some steps, although in different degrees, towards the development of cooperation, internal democratization and the settlement of the problems connected with the bringing down of military tension and the consolidation of

security. Measures taken in this sphere by the Government of Nicaragua were especially significant. A trend emerged towards the growth of trust in relations between the countries, towards the growing awareness of their common responsibility for the destiny of their region and of the need for developing good neighborly relations.

"All these positive factors were met in the world with relief and satisfaction, and are justly regarded as a real opportunity on the way to the elimination of that dangerous seat of regional tension. They were positively received by a considerable part of the American public.

"However, judging by all appearances, this turn of events does not suit some people in Washington whose officials still stubbornly refuse to recognize the right of peoples, and, specifically, of the people of Nicaragua, to choose by themselves their way of development. The present dangerous actions of the U.S. Administration are a link in the chain of actions directed against a political settlement process in Central America. These include both the actual opposition to the implementation of the Guatemala accords, the desire to keep other Latin American countries away from the political process, and the continuing attempts to legalize the military assistance to the mercenaries who invaded the Nicaraguan territory and are using methods of terror against the Nicaraguan people. Holding forth about the threat to U.S. security allegedly coming from Nicaragua, Washington at the same time persistently refuses to accept a proposal of the Nicaraguan Government on the resumption without any preliminary conditions of direct bilateral talks for the purpose of removing mutual concerns. At the same time, under the influence of the U.S. the contras procrastinated or disrupted on more than one occasion the ceasefire talks proposed by the Nicaraguan Government.

"Thus, judging by all these indications, Washington is actually doing its utmost for preventing a just peaceful settlement in Central America, for procrastinating and aggravating the conflict despite its eloquent statements in favour of the termination of regional conflicts.

"This policy line cannot but be denounced in a most resolute way. The Soviet Union believes that the U.S. Government should stop opposing itself to the striving of Central American nations for peace and to a clearly expressed desire of world public opinion that the conflict in that region be terminated. It should heed the voice of reason and to give up its attempts to impose its will on peoples of sovereign countries, its policy of pressure and threats, and to promote in action a political settlement with due account for legitimate interests of all the parties concerned.

"All those who hold dear the cause of peace and the right of nations to self-determination should redouble their efforts for putting an end to the conflict in Central America, for ensuring to the peoples of that region an opportunity to live a peaceful and normal life.

"On its part, the Soviet Union again reiterates its strong support for a political settlement in Central America through the efforts of Latin Americans themselves without outside interference on the basis of the Guatemala agreements, and is ready to constructively promote their realization".

U.S. Using 'Base Means' To Put Regime in Panama
LD211149 Moscow TASS in English 1138 GMT 21 Mar 88

[Text] Panama City March 21 TASS—Disregarding the state of emergency law adopted several days ago in view of continuing U.S. interference in the domestic affairs of Panama, the leaders of the so-called National Civic Crusade have called for a general strike today with the aim of paralyzing economic life in the country, destabilizing the government and forcing it into retirement.

The same goals, the newspaper LA REPUBLICA said, were served by stepped-up U.S. espionage in Panama. It added that U.S. spies from a quick-reaction group had been able to place bugs at the residence of General Noriega, commander-in-chief of the National Defense Forces.

The taps, however, were soon discovered and removed.

The paper said the incident was vivid evidence that the United States did not shrink from using base means in a bid to foist a puppet regime on this country, which would guarantee U.S. military presence in Panama even after the year 2000, in violation of existing treaties.

New facts have come to light, in the meantime, about Washington's support for a recent abortive mutiny in Panama. According to local press reports, most of the Panamanian officers involved in it recently returned from the United States after a refresher course there.

The press describes this fact as most symptomatic.

Havana March 21 TASS—Progressive political parties and organizations of 27 Latin American countries in a statement here expressed solidarity with Panama in connection with increased U.S. aggressive intrigues against that Central American country.

They said they would attend a conference to open in the Panamanian capital on March 25 on the initiative of progressive and patriotic forces in Panama. The purpose of the forum is to declare support for Panama which is living through the sharpest crisis in its history, provoked by the United States.

U.S. 'Big Stick' Policy in Honduras Condemned

*LD191907 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1630 GMT 19 Mar 88*

[Nikolay Agayants commentary]

[Text] A representative of the U.S. Embassy in Tegucigalpa has pointed out that the detachment of the U.S. 82nd Airborne Transport Division, which has arrived at the CIA's Palmerola military base, has been ordered to take up position 30 km from the Nicaraguan border. President Jose Azcona of Honduras has confirmed that some of these troops have already been transferred to the region of Olancho and to the country's Pacific coast on the Gulf of Fonseca. Our commentator Nikolay Agayants talks about these events in greater detail:

[Agayants] There has been a clear and distinct smell of gunpowder in the air on the Nicaraguan-Honduras border. Open armed aggression is being prepared against the Sandinist Revolution, and what we are talking about now is not rampant bands of Somozite contras but the involvement of Honduran regular troops in the operations. The situation became even more acute following the decision of the United States to stage a demonstration of its muscle in this explosive region. Although U.S. Defense Secretary Carlucci, and after him Secretary of State Shultz, have been assuring the public that the additional contingent of U.S. troops has allegedly been moved up to the Nicaraguan border solely in order to take part in maneuvers and that its stay in Honduran soil will not exceed 10 days, it is very difficult to believe this.

In front of me are reports from Tegucigalpa that cannot fail to cause alarm and concern. The fact is that a parachute drop of 800 men has already been carried out from U.S. four-engined C-141 Star Lifter transport aircraft into the jungle near the village of Flores. A UP correspondent writes directly that these Yankee soldiers are ready and eager to assist the contras in their struggle against the Sandinists but that Washington is allegedly not yet sanctioning such actions. At the same time as these provocative maneuvers by the Pentagon brass hats, the Honduran authorities, encouraged by U.S. support, have started to move their own troops up to the border with Nicaragua. Meanwhile, Jose Azcona, the president of the Republic, has let it be understood in the plainest of terms that the Honduran Air Force intends to continue bombing positions of the Nicaraguan Army, which has supposedly invaded Honduran territory. Four Yankee battalions from Fort Bragg and the 7th Light Infantry Division from Fort Ord have embarked upon war games, the purpose of which is to demonstrate Washington's support for Tegucigalpa and to intimidate the Nicaraguans.

I would recall, comrades, that since 1981 Honduras has been turned by the Pentagon into a bridgehead for U.S. aggression against the peoples of Central America, and in particular against Nicaragua and the Salvadoran rebels. The infrastructure that has been created there—in other

words, the airstrip, the bases, and the arms and munitions dumps, the constant presence of more than 1,000 U.S. servicemen in the country, and the ever-increasing economic and military aid by the United States to the Honduran regime—is evidence of the fact that Washington remains dedicated to the stereotypes of the past and that there is no desire there to take into account realities of the present day and the demands of the peoples of Latin and Central America that the policy of the big stick and gunboat diplomacy be given up.

U.S. Troops Placed 30 Km From Nicaragua Border

*LD190754 Moscow TASS in English 0742 GMT
19 Mar 88*

[Text] Managua March 19 TASS—According to reports from Tegucigalpa, a representative of the U.S. Embassy in Honduras has said that the units of the 82nd Air Transport Division, who arrived at the CIA military base Palmerola, were ordered to take positions 30 kilometres from the Nicaraguan frontier. President of Honduras Jose Azcona reaffirmed that part of these troops had already been transferred to the area of Alanchio and the Pacific coast of Honduras to the Gulf of Fonseca. He also said that Honduran Air Force would continue in the next few days air bombings of positions of the Sandinist People's Army which are allegedly on the Honduran territory. But, according to numerous Nicaraguan and foreign journalists, who arrived in San Andres de Bocay, Honduran planes raided Nicaraguan territory where frontier units of the Sandinist People's Army are stationed.

U.S. Acts Cause 'Heated Debates' in Honduras

*LD191407 Moscow TASS in English 0742 GMT
19 Mar 88*

[Text] Havana March 19 TASS—According to reports reaching here, all 3,200 paratroopers and infantry men have been airlifted from the United States to Honduras by decision of President Reagan under the pretext of "intrusion" of Nicaraguan troops in the Honduran territory. On Friday afternoon about 800 officers and men from the 82nd U.S. Airborne Division parachuted to the territory of Palmerola, the principal American military base in Honduras. Practically at the same time two battalions of the Seventh U.S. Infantry Division, a total of 1,200 men, were brought to that Central American country which has been turned by the Pentagon into the bridgehead for an undeclared war against Nicaragua. The Pentagon needed 55 transport planes to urgently airlift its units and military equipment.

The arrival of an additional contingent of American troops in Honduras has become the subject of heated debates at the National Assembly (parliament) of that country. As is reported by the PRENSA LATINA news agency, deputies of the legislative body criticised President Jose Azcona who, bypassing parliament, informed Washington that the Sandinist People's Army allegedly violated the Honduran frontier. Vice-President of the

National Assembly Jose Fernandez has said that the president took the stand disgraceful to Honduras, having flung doors open to foreign troops under the pretext of "intrusion that nobody believes in".

Nicaragua Protests Honduran Bombing Raid

*LD202153 Moscow TASS in English 2031 GMT
20 Mar 88*

[Text] Managua March 20 TASS—The Nicaraguan Government has protested over the bombing by Honduran aircraft of Sandinist People's Army positions in the north of the country Saturday.

The Nicaraguan Foreign Ministry released a note here today, which says that the new aggressive actions force the national leadership to take steps to prevent such incidents in the future. Simultaneously, the Nicaraguan Government urged Honduras to end such raids and respect the norms of relations between the sovereign states.

Honduras Blamed for Delay of Regional Meeting

*LD191116 Moscow TASS in English 1043 GMT
19 Mar 88*

[Text] Havana March 19 TASS—A meeting of the foreign ministers of Nicaragua, Honduras, El Salvador, Costa Rica and Guatemala is being postponed for an uncertain period of time through the fault of the Honduran side, it has become known here. The heightened situation in Central America, following the provocative course of the United States vis-a-vis Panama and the transfer of American troops to Honduras was to be considered, on Costa Rica's initiative, at the meeting.

Foreign Minister of Honduras Carlos Lopez said that "he will participate in the meeting only after the withdrawal of Nicaraguan troops from the territory of his country". Political observers pointed to the absurdity of such a pretext since Nicaragua submitted convincing proofs that the Sandinist People's Army had not violated the Honduran frontier. Commentaries in that connection note that Honduras openly conducts the course of the United States which is seeking hard to torpedo the process of political dialogue in the region. The foreign ministers of Guatemala and Costa Rica stated that the stand of Honduras was the main obstacle to that important meeting.

Latin America Protests U.S. Troop Deployment

Cuba: U.S. Move 'Provocative'

*LD201526 Moscow TASS in English 1503 GMT
20 Mar 88*

[Text] Havana March 20 TASS—The Foreign Ministry of Cuba qualifies Washington's actions vis-a-vis Central America and Panama as provocative actions which imperil the independence and territorial integrity of the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean Basin.

The United States Administration which has sent its troops to the Honduran territory has the aim to create a threat to Nicaragua and tender support to mercenary gangs, which having been routed and demoralized, are looking for rescue at CIA camps, Cuba's Foreign Ministry says in its statement, circulated here. Thereby, Washington is seeking to thwart the efforts being undertaken by Latin America in the quest for ways of a fair settlement of the Central American problem, is grossly flouting the sovereignty of Honduras and the honour of Central America.

Washington is simultaneously intensifying interference into internal affairs of Panama and unleashing against it an unlawful and unjustified economic aggression. Washington is seeking elimination of the patriotic forces in Panama and establishment of an obedient regime which would enable it to repeal the Panamanian-American agreement on the canal, preserve its control over the Panama Canal and military presence in that country.

The U.S. actions coincide in time with British provocative military exercises in the Malvinas (Falkland) Islands, a British-usurped Argentine territory.

Latin America has been challenged, the statement says. The independence, national sovereignty and freedom of its peoples are at stake. Latin American countries should most forcibly display their solidarity at this crucial hour. Cuba's Foreign Ministry called upon the international community as a whole to exert joint efforts in order to put an end to American intervention and to guarantee to the peoples of the region territorial integrity, peace and the inalienable right to decide their future themselves, without foreign interference.

Peru: U.S. 'Interference' Scored

*LD202118 Moscow TASS in English 2102 GMT
20 Mar 88*

[Text] Lima March 20 TASS—The Peruvian Government rejects the U.S. interference in Central America and resolutely protests against the presence of U.S. troops in Honduras, the war games conducted there and bombings of the Nicaraguan territory, Peruvian President Alan Garcia told journalists here. Confirming Peru's position in support of the right of Nicaraguan people to free self-determination, Garcia pointed out that problems of Central America could be resolved only by the peoples of the region without outside interference.

The Peruvian president stated that the interference of imperialism aimed at preventing a ceasefire and achievement of understandings between the Sandinist government and contras was behind the present aggravation of the Nicaragua situation. The Reagan administration, he said, continues pursuing a very erroneous course by carrying on interference and resorting to threats and force in the Central American region.

Panama: 'Grave Implications'

*LD201629 Moscow TASS in English 1543 GMT
20 Mar 88*

[Text] Panama March 20 TASS—The movement of U.S. troops to Honduras is a threat to the process of peaceful settlement in Central America and evidence of the U.S. Administration's open interference in the region, says a statement by the Panamanian Foreign Ministry.

This demonstration of the military might on the part of the United States is in conflict with the efforts by the Contadora and Support Groups to end the Central American conflict, the document says. The escalation of U.S. interference can lead to grave implications if one is to consider the economic aggression launched by the United States against Panama lately and also the large-scale provocative manoeuvres by U.S. troops, which are conducted in Panama under the auspices of the U.S. Southern Command.

These exercises, involving some 16,000 American soldiers, are a flagrant violation of the provisions of the Panamanian-U.S. treaties which provide for the transfer of the inter-American waterway under Panama's control by the year 2000, the statement emphasizes.

Washington March 20 TASS—The U.S. State Department mission has returned here following the unproductive completion of the talks with the command of Panama's National Defence Forces in the Panamanian capital, according [to] news agency reports. During the negotiations the U.S. representatives tried to put pressure on General Noreiga, commander-in-chief of the National Defence Forces, to get him [to] resign and leave the country.

A statement by the National Defence Forces released last Saturday says that the proposals by the U.S. State Department officials were dismissed by the Panamanian side as unacceptable, news agencies report. The document also points out that the command of the National Defence Forces is ready to conduct such negotiations on solving Panamanian problems, which would meet the national interests.

Mexico: Security 'Concern'

*LD202158 Moscow TASS in English 2146 GMT
20 Mar 88*

[Text] Mexico March 20 TASS—Mexican Foreign Minister Bernardo Sepulveda has expressed concern over the sharpening of the situation in Central America as a result of the movement of U.S. troops into Honduras. The unceasing conflicts in this region affect Mexico's national security, he said in a talk with journalists.

As in the recent case involving the manoeuvres of the British Armed Forces in the area of the Malvinas Islands, Mexico states that the holding by foreign armies of

manoeuvres in Central America to show force is unacceptable since it is conducive to a still greater rise in tension, the Mexican minister said.

Sepulveda noted that such actions cause damage to the peace-making efforts by the Contadora and Support Groups. He said that consultations were conducted among the eight member countries of both groups to preventing a further aggravation of the situation.

Further on Outgoing Mexican Ambassador

Received by Gromyko

PM171359 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Mar 88
Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Kremlin Reception"]

[Text] A.A. Gromyko received Horacio Flores de la Pena, Mexican ambassador to the USSR, on 11 March in connection with his forthcoming final departure from the Soviet Union.

During the talk satisfaction was expressed at the traditionally friendly nature of relations between the Soviet Union and Mexico. These relations are based on the principles of mutual respect, equality, and trust.

The Mexican ambassador noted that Soviet foreign policy has lessons to teach others. Flexibility, knowledge of the subject, and high professionalism are the features which ensure its success. We are indebted to the Soviet Union for the fact that peace reigns on earth.

A.A. Gromyko stated that our course is principled. In this our guideline is the struggle against the threat of war, and pride of place is given to the reduction and elimination of nuclear weapons.

In this connection, he dwelt on the importance of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, signed during M.S. Gorbachev's visit to Washington. The treaty was the first important victory in the struggle against the threat of nuclear war. The entire world is waiting for its ratification. I would like to think that the U.S. side will approach this question with all due seriousness. There is still a long road ahead leading to the complete elimination of mass destruction weaponry.

On foreign policy questions, A.A. Gromyko noted, the Soviet Union sees that Mexico's line is constructive. The long-standing history of our friendly relations—particularly the fact that Mexico was the first Latin American state to establish diplomatic relations with our country—is vividly linked with the present. We highly value this. You can be sure that the Soviet Union will continue to pursue the same foreign policy line of peace for all the peoples and the defense of the sovereignty and national security of all states.

The restructuring which our people are undertaking in domestic affairs finds concrete reflection in our peace-loving foreign policy too. That is why we say that our foreign policy is organically linked with our domestic policy and the domestic life of the Land of the Soviets.

During the exchange of opinions between A.A. Gromyko and H. Flores de la Pena, particular emphasis was laid on the need to continue the efforts of all states aimed at removing the nuclear threat, to radically cut and eliminate all types of mass destruction weaponry, and to create a comprehensive international security system.

Mutual confidence was expressed that an improvement in the international climate would be largely promoted by a speedy political settlement of regional conflicts, including in Central America. The Soviet Union, A.A. Gromyko said, highly values Mexico's role in supporting the Contadora process.

V.G. Komplektov, USSR deputy foreign minister, took part in the talk.

Received by Shevardnadze

PM171659 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Mar 88
Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Reception of Ambassador"]

[Text] E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, received H. Flores de la Pena, Mexican ambassador to the USSR, in connection with his upcoming departure for home.

In the course of the conversation, mutual satisfaction was expressed with the progressive development of Soviet-Mexican relations in the political and other spheres. H. Flores de la Pena stressed that Mexico welcomes and supports the course being conducted by the Soviet Union toward the rational normalization of the international climate, the elimination of nuclear and other types of mass destruction weapons, and the democratization of the entire system of interstate relations on the basis of new political thinking.

E.A. Shevardnadze noted the consistency and constructive nature of Mexico's foreign policy line, which invariably supports efforts channeled toward the creation of an all-embracing system of international peace and security and shows initiative and persistence in the quest for a solution to important questions associated with the prevention of the nuclear threat and also other urgent problems of a global and regional nature.

They noted a coincidence of viewpoints with regard to the importance of making progress in the implementation of a Latin American solution to the problem of a

settlement in Central America through national reconciliation, based on strict observance of international legal norms and, primarily, the sovereign right of every people to independent choice of the means of its development.

In connection with the projected signing of a long-term program for trade-economic and scientific-technical cooperation between the Soviet Union and Mexico, both sides expressed the conviction that new forms and spheres of practical cooperation need to be assimilated in the aforementioned areas in the interests of both countries' economic development.

The meeting took place in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

Demichev Receives Uruguayan Ambassador

PM161517 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Mar 88
Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Presentation of Credentials"]

[Text] On 9 March Juan Jose Real, Uruguayan ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the USSR, presented his credentials in the Kremlin to P.N. Demichev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

After the presentation of credentials and an exchange of speeches, a friendly conversation took place between P.N. Demichev and J.J. Real.

Uruguayan President Sanguinetti Visits USSR

Arrives in Leningrad

LD191434 Moscow TASS in English 1354 GMT 19 Mar 88

[Text] Leningrad March 19 TASS—President Julio Maria Sanguinetti of the Eastern Republic of Uruguay arrived today in Leningrad en route to Moscow on an official visit at the invitation of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Soviet Government.

Welcomed in Moscow by Gromyko

LD210656 Moscow TASS in English 0653 GMT 21 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 21 TASS—President Julio Maria Sanguinetti of the Oriental Republic of Uruguay arrived in Moscow today for an official visit at the invitation of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers of the USSR.

At Vnukovo-2 Airport, the president was welcomed by Andrey Gromyko, president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Avgust Voss, chairman of the

Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Vladimir Kamentsev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and other officials.

Interviewed by Moscow TV

LD172304 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1940 GMT 17 Mar 88

[Interview with Julio Maria Sanguinetti, president of the Oriental Republic of Uruguay, by unidentified Soviet television correspondent in Uruguay; date not given—recorded; Sanguinetti speaking in vernacular with superimposed Russian translation]

[Text] [Correspondent] For over 60 years, Uruguay and the Soviet Union have maintained diplomatic relations. In recent years, after a civil government came to power, political contacts have expanded considerably and economic and cultural relations have become stronger. Your upcoming visit to the USSR is evidence of that. Along what lines is Uruguay striving to develop relations with the Soviet Union?

[Sanguinetti] First of all, these relations are of a traditional nature. Uruguay has always strived to maintain them. The fact that they were established 60 years ago is very telling. Second, these links have never been severed, and they have been developing normally under most various governments. In our view, they are of great value not only in the economic and cultural spheres but also in the political sphere. We live in two different social and political systems; this is obvious. Yet it is also obvious that Uruguay and the USSR, whose state systems are different in many respects, have a good deal in common concerning the struggle for peace and security in the world. We are convinced that a direct dialogue with the USSR on these problems is necessary.

[Correspondent] Uruguay is among the four Latin American countries which constitute the Contadora Support Group. Its activity is aimed at resolving the conflict in Central America through peaceful political means. What is your country's contribution to the development of this process?

[Sanguinetti] We set up this group in Lima with the purpose of rendering assistance to the Contadora Group at a very difficult moment when it seemed that the armed conflict would be exacerbated, when the activity of the Contadora Group itself was being attacked; there were even statements alleging that the group was dead. We set up our group in Lima to make the process more effective, and we have attained a considerable success. The Contadora Group has been able to lead the process of peaceful settlement in Central America and to promote a principle whereby regional solutions are made by Central American states themselves. Costa Rican President Arias' plan for establishing peace in the region, signed in Guatemala, and the accord signed earlier in Esquipulas prove that. Thus, Central America has advanced along the path of constructive decisions, a

positive process which has not been completed yet, but the results achieved give one hope for its successful ending. First, it has been possible to avoid exacerbation of hostilities; second, to create mechanisms for a peaceful settlement. And—the most important—now all the Central American states that I visited recently are carrying out and maintaining direct dialogue.

[Correspondent] How do you see the treaty on the elimination of two classes of nuclear missiles in the light of prospects for full and universal disarmament? Do you believe in a nuclear-free world?

[Sanguinetti] I think that this treaty is a most important event and an historic step which has been estimated at its true worth by all mankind. I can say that we all hope that the super powers will be more active in advancing along this way. We appreciate highly this process and believe that it will be continued. There will be no peace or quiet on earth until disarmament takes place. There can be no stable economic development without reducing military spending, which has a detrimental effect on economic development and, eventually, on our peoples' living standards.

[Correspondent] What do you think of restructuring in international relations on the basis of equality and democracy and on the basis of establishing a new international economic order? How, in your opinion, can the problem of Latin American countries' foreign debts be resolved?

[Sanguinetti] The most complex problem of the foreign debts should be examined in the aggregate of all its aspects which include, first of all, the protectionism of industrially-developed countries, something that is seriously hampering our development. It manifests itself in a great many ways: commercial restrictions, the credit system, illegal trade practices and so on. Second, the approach itself to resolving the problem has changed, and this is proved by the measures adopted recently by Latin American countries. Third, we are trying to sign such an agreement within the framework of GATT which would make it possible for us to achieve a higher level of trade exchange. We think that on the basis of such a political approach, which would take into account various ideological positions, and on the basis of a policy of peace, one could establish a more fair economic order. Everything in the world is interconnected. There can be no fairness in international economic relations if we continue to advance along the path of armaments and developing new nuclear missiles. But now this situation is changing for the better. Hence improvements in the sphere of trade exchange are possible, too. One has to say clearly that for us the trade conditions are utterly unfair.

[Correspondent] Thank you, president, for the interview.

[Sanguinetti] I, in my turn, would like to thank you and to emphasize that the recent visit to Uruguay by Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze, USSR minister of foreign

affairs, was an event of great political import for our country. I am looking forward to my visit to the USSR during which I am to have a meeting with Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. I would like to exchange opinions with him. Recently I read with interest and hope his book on restructuring. I, like many other people in the world, was greatly impressed by it.

CPSU Group Departs for Guadeloupe CP Congress
PM161333 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Mar 88
Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Delegation Departure"]

[Text] A CPSU delegation, headed by L.F. Bobykin, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee and chief of the CPSU Central Committee Light Industry and Consumer Goods Department, has left Moscow for Guadeloupe at the invitation of the Communist Party of Guadeloupe [PCG] Central Committee to attend the 9th PCG Congress.

CPSU Sends Greetings
PM161339 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Mar 88
Second Edition p 1

[CPSU Central Committee Message to Communist Party of Guadeloupe Congress]

[Text] To the Ninth Congress of the Communist Party of Guadeloupe

The CPSU Central Committee sends ardent greetings to the delegates of the Ninth Congress of the Communist Party of Guadeloupe [PCG] and, through them, to all Guadeloupe Communists and working people and wish the congress fruitful work.

Guadeloupe Communists are now celebrating the 30th anniversary of their party's first constituent congress. The path traveled by your party during these years is a path of tireless struggle on behalf of the vital interests of the working people and peace and equitable cooperation in the Caribbean region and throughout the world.

Today, averting the nuclear threat and creating an all-embracing international security system and a new international economic system based on principles of equality and justice are assuming special significance, and Guadeloupe Communists are making a worthy contribution to the struggle for these noble aims.

Soviet Communists cordially congratulate the PCG on its glorious jubilee. They express fraternal solidarity with the PCG's struggle for the right of the people of Guadeloupe to be master of their own destiny, to stop international imperialism interfering in the affairs of the peoples of the Caribbean region, to overcome the vestiges of neocolonialism, and to secure peace, democracy, and social progress.

Long live the Communist Party of Guadeloupe!

May the fraternal bonds between Soviet and Guadeloupe Communists strengthen!

CPSU Central Committee

Gorbachev Book Launched in Ecuador

*LD181530 Moscow TASS in English 1318 GMT
18 Mar 88*

[Text] Quito March 18 TASS—The ceremony to launch the book "Perestroyka: New Thinking for Our Country and the World" by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, was held here. The

ceremony was attended by representatives of leading political parties, public organisations, staffers of Ecuador's state institutions and also of the Oveja Negra publishers who distribute Gorbachev's book in Ecuador.

Edmundo Duran Diaz, president of the Ecuadorean Peace Council Executive Committee, and Francisco Acosta Yepes, former minister of foreign affairs of Ecuador, addressing the ceremony, expressed the uniform view that the ideas laid down in Gorbachev's book were of immense importance not only to the Soviet Union but also to the whole world, since they chart the ways to solving the problems which are uppermost to the entire mankind today.

Political & Social

Nagorno-Karabakh Situation Remains Tense

Armenian Writer Ponders Issue

PM181525 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian
17 Mar 88 p 2

[Article by USSR People's Artist Rachiya Kaplanyan, chairman of the board of the Armenian Union of Theater Workers, under the rubric "More Democracy—More Socialism": "What Are the Lives of Our Fellow-Countrymen Like?"]

[Excerpts] Yerevan—The events in Nagorno-Karabakh and the large demonstrations in Yerevan troubled me deeply.

I am no historian and I do not want to go into the details of the question here, but its essence lies in the sphere of national relations. For a long time it was thought that the nationalities question in our country had been satisfactorily resolved and people preferred to speak about it in celebratory tones—in the style of a master of ceremonies. Recent events, however, have shown that we have inherited quite a few unsolved questions, including national ones. This was mentioned by M.S. Gorbachev in his appeal to the working people of Azerbaijan and Armenia. A future plenum of the CPSU Central Committee will also be devoted to these problems.

It is another matter that we have neglected this ailment which was contracted back in the tragic thirties and which has become more difficult to cure as the years pass. Our theater is currently preparing to stage a play based on A. Rybakov's novel "Children of the Arbat." People say to me, as director: "Why do you not deal with an Armenian theme?" But is the personality cult really a problem for one nation alone? After all, all of us—Armenians, Russians, or other nationalities—suffered from the arbitrary decisions and voluntarism. To stage the play you need to know the era apart from the novel. And when I study documents connected with those times I often have just one thought in mind: Please God, don't let our children experience anything like that....

Yes, it was in those very years that the bureaucratic approach to the solution of the nationalities question arose, and the pompous image of the "big brother" who would be responsible for everyone else roamed from book to book and from one theater to the next. Whereas the responsibility for our relations—as we now realize perfectly well—must be shared equally. In a real friendship everyone is equal. And we do not choose our friends on the basis of national traits. I, for example, believe that every people have their own rascals and ne'er-do-wells but also their own remarkable people—and, of course, many more of them.

We were accustomed to talking and writing on this theme exclusively in rosy terms. The unsolved problems and omissions were often driven deep underground and no one knew where they would surface again or in what form. Restructuring disturbed all these deep-lying processes and caused an increase in national self-awareness. It became clear: The people's feelings cannot be ignored, still less exploited—their subtle structure is very easily damaged. It is necessary to foster international awareness carefully, tactfully, and stage by stage and to mold standards in relations between nations, for which there is still an acute need.

It is necessary to foster and mold those standards, but how? This, clearly, is the nub of the whole matter. I admit that I was startled by the way the events in Nagorno-Karabakh were covered. There were the stereotyped, standardized responses in which successive writers gave assurances of friendship for the fraternal people. But did we ever doubt that friendship which dates back centuries?!

I suddenly discovered my own name appended to one such item. Who had the nerve to discredit me in that way? Furious, I telephoned ARMENPRESS and tried to find out just who had been taking my name in vain. In reply over the telephone they apologized and asked me not to cause a scandal, "otherwise we'll lose our job." As though to console me they told me the following sad tale. It turns out that I am not the only one to have suffered in this way. One of the news agency's staffers even had his engagement broken off when he put his beloved's name to such an article....

I must be honest: For all the respect that I have for the mass media, which sometimes work selflessly "on behalf of glasnost," I pity hacks like that. By the soulless repetition of platitudes and old pre-restructuring slogans they nullify all of the party's vast work in shaping the new thinking. For that matter, I could talk about real friendship far more and, I hope, better, myself. [passage omitted]

When the demonstrators appeared on the square in front of the opera house I heard people saying: That's what democracy leads to.... Well, of course, it is far easier to blame democracy, but it is bureaucracy in national relations which has these consequences, not democracy. The Karabakh problem did not suddenly hit us like a bolt from the blue—party and soviet organs were perfectly well aware of it. What did they do to calm the people?

Unfortunately, party workers took action too late. Some, it is true, tried the conventional method in such cases—the "ban"—but that was of no avail. Now they tend to blame the central press, saying that recent press criticism of Armenia undermined the authority of some leading workers. Perhaps they have simply forgotten how to talk to people as human beings? Perhaps they never knew?

This is not an unsubstantiated statement on my part and of course I am not trying to tar everyone with the same brush. The party raykom phoned recently, the caller sounded embarrassed, confused: Many collectives have set up Karabakh committees, what do you advise, what is to be done? What advice can I give here? You have to go to where the committees are being set up, find out people's feelings, know how to persuade them, in short, convey to people the great truth of our socialist communal life. Otherwise that democratic spirit promoted by restructuring is simply impossible.

It is obvious today that the people are ready to heed words of wisdom, the voice of reason, and balanced, sober decisions. They even ask us cultural figures and writers to answer, to explain what is going on. We all live in one home, one family. And no matter what part of that home, what room we are in, we are constantly aware of each other's presence. But this is still our common home and we have to be tactful and polite, we have to observe the rules of communal life; we need to know how to control our own emotions. When arguments break out in a family, life can sometimes become intolerable. But what have we done to rectify it and to strengthen the family of fraternal peoples?

We have become accustomed to writing stereotyped phrases: "Year by year the cultural ties between the union republics are developing." But in fact, as we know, things were not like that. It is those very cultural ties which have weakened perceptibly of late: Culture weeks and exchange visits by figures from culture and art have disappeared. Increasingly often, scientific and literary publications carry debates which do not seek scientific truth but, on the contrary, distort history.

I have in mind the national arrogance of some "scientists" who, in a frenzy of local patriotism, try to exaggerate the antiquity of their people and to credit them with fabulous exploits as though they did not have enough real ones of which to be truly proud.

Quite recently we marked the glorious jubilee of the October Revolution. That is an ideal theme for interesting theater shows and profound journalistic reflections on the great gain of socialism—the friendship of the peoples. But for some reason I cannot remember any popular and respected newspaper describing the revolutionary fraternity and combat internationalism of the remarkable sons of the Russian, Azerbaijani, Georgian, and Armenian peoples—the 26 Baku commissars!

Such omissions cost dear.

Quite by chance, about 2 years ago in a local newspaper I read a report on the adoption of a joint resolution by the Central Committees of the Armenian, Azerbaijan, and Georgian Communist Parties "On Measures To Further Develop International Ties Among the Working People of the Fraternal Republics of the Transcaucasus."

What kind of document was this? What specific measures were envisaged to develop ties between the nationalities in the Transcaucasus region? And, finally, what forms and methods of ideological work are to be employed to implement them? Not a word was mentioned. Had it not been adopted for form's sake? Here is another report: In Idzhevan, a rayon center, a University of the Friendship of the Peoples was opened where scientists from the three fraternal republics delivered lectures on internationalism. Well, did their work end there?

It is well known that the vast majority of the population of Nagorno-Karabakh is Armenian. What are the lives of my fellow countrymen like? How is this region developing? I should like to find in the newspapers regular selections of materials on this theme which ARMENPRESS and AZERINFORM could exchange and offer to their mass media. After all, there are quite a few Azerbaijanis in my republic.

Here is another strange episode from that selfsame sphere of ideological omissions: The inhabitants of Georgia, Azerbaijan, and Armenia are unable to watch television broadcasts from the neighboring republics. Can it be all that difficult to arrange? After all, they can watch shows from Turkey and even Iran! But we do not know how the fraternal people live.... For instance, for over 10 years now our opera has not demonstrated its art on the Moscow stage. It is a long time since the Sundukyan drama theater toured in the capital. Does one have to spell out how dangerous it is for creativity to retreat into a national shell? [passage omitted]

At the CPSU Central Committee February Plenum, M.S. Gorbachev said: "The unique feature of our culture is its multinational nature. We often speak about it as a matter of course but I think that we have not yet learned how to appreciate it fully.... We should do everything to promote the further expansion of contacts between national cultures, their mutual enrichment, and their development and flowering."

Yes, we have become accustomed to applause when talk turns to the friendship of the fraternal peoples. But it is necessary to debate and demonstrate, to teach and study democracy. It is necessary to know how to judge that line beyond which the national develops into the nationalistic, the line beyond which man begins to think about his exclusive position among his peers.

Democracy presupposes the power of authority. But when you see in some leaders a presumptuousness, an arrogance, and a haughtiness with no keen mind or profound knowledge to back it up, it makes you sad. We underestimated the possibility of people rapidly aping the attitudes of beys, princes, and boyars, but they were alive in some people and are now bearing fruit.

And when, in an attempt to hold on to his job, some functionary responsible for the arts spreads the pathetic and absurd rumor that distortions in national relations are the result of democracy and glasnost, you want to put him right immediately. If there were true glasnost there would be no place for the kind of rumors to which conditions are so conducive now.

"They gave us a chance to speak and we began shouting...." one actor joked during a discussion on the democratization of society. Many a true word is spoken in jest, though. We often perceive democracy—the basis of all future changes—in a one-sided way benefiting ourselves. But we have to think about others. We ought to heed other people's opinions, but we have become accustomed to respecting our own more than theirs.... [passage omitted]

Leaders Meet With Workers

LD182020 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1800 GMT 18 Mar 88

[Text] At a meeting at the CPSU Central Committee: In connection with the instructions of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, Comrades Ligachev, Zaykov, Solomentsev, Demichev, Dolgikh, Razumovskiy, and Lukyanov today met with scientific and cultural figures of Azerbaijan and Armenian nationalities working in Moscow.

Speeches were made during this meeting by Mchedlov, doctor of philosophy and deputy director of the CPSU Central Committee's Institute of Marxism-Leninism; Salmanov, first deputy USSR minister of geology, doctor of geological and mineralogical sciences; Academician Sitaryan, first deputy chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee; Magomayev, people's artist of the USSR; Khachaturov, deputy chairman of the board of the NOVOSTI press agency, candidate of historical sciences; Iskenderov, chief editor of the journal "VO-PROSY ISTORII" ["Matters of History"], corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences; Brutents, deputy head of the international department of the CPSU Central Committee, doctor of historical sciences; and Gadzhiyev, senior research assistant of the All-Union Scientific Center of Surgery of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences, doctor of medical sciences.

Serious anxiety was expressed with regard to events in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast and the situation that has developed in the Armenian and Azerbaijan SSR's. Participants in the meeting unanimously supported the steps being taken by the CPSU Central Committee to normalize the situation and stressed that the appeal by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to the workers and people of Azerbaijan and Armenia is a major political document in the effort to resolve the issues connected with Nagorno-Karabakh. It is permeated with

great concern for the well-being of the republics and the country, and is a guide to action for every honest person, every true patriot of our great homeland.

There was a frank [otkrovennyy] discussion during the meeting of the difficulties in developing relations between nationalities that have been handed down to us from the past. There are also problems that have been generated with the passage of time. Central and local bodies of authority are striving to examine, in every way possible, the issues that have accumulated; to find the right ways to improve the situation in the interests of the workers of all nationalities who live in the Azerbaijan and Armenian SSR's, and in the interests of the entire Soviet society.

Participants in the meeting made constructive proposals that have been taken into account and will help better resolve problems relating to the economic, social, and spiritual life in the region. An appropriate, business-like atmosphere is needed for this there, as are mutual trust and respect. Emotions and backward sentiments must not be allowed to gain the upper hand. A rebuff must be given to any actions that incite people into clashes and work stoppages. The Azerbaijan and Armenian peoples, in the large family of Soviet peoples, are connected by the firm ties of the common struggle for socialist reforms. The strengthening of friendship between the working people of the republics and all nationalities living in them is an indispensable condition for successfully resolving many tasks, both today and in the future, and the guarantee of our common well-being and prosperity.

Comrades Ligachev and Zaykov, Politburo members and CPSU Central Committee secretaries; and Comrades Dolgikh and Razumovskiy, candidate members of the Politburo, CPSU Central Committee secretaries, addressed those gathered.

A thorough conversation also took place in the CPSU Central Committee between Yegor Kuzmich Ligachev and a group of labor collective representatives from the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast.

Armenian Party Leader on Unrest

LD182159 Moscow In English to Great Britain
and Ireland 2000 GMT 18 Mar 88

[Text] Last month Nagorno-Karabakh, an autonomous region in the Soviet Caucasian Republic of Azerbaijan, became a scene of rallies and demonstrations as part of the Armenian population demanded the region be included in the neighboring Republic of Armenia. Later, a group of criminals in the town of Sumgait in Azerbaijan stirred unrest and engaged in violence and robbery. At the time the situation was tense in both Armenia and Azerbaijan. Our correspondent met Passionariya Akopyan, a member of the Central Committee of the Armenian Communist Party and of the legislature of the republic.

I think, Passionariya Akopyan says, there has been a very unusual situation in and around Nagorno-Karabakh. The recent events there were caused by a series of economic, social, and cultural problems which were not resolved and accumulated during the period now called the period of stagnation. The frictions between the Armenians and Azerbaijanis living in the region were an open secret. Sometimes the ethnic feelings of the Armenians were being abused and some national monuments were being mistreated. These problems, however, failed to receive due attention since the officials were ignoring the facts and insisting there could be no ethnic problems in the Caucasus.

As the economic and social reforms in the Soviet Union brought about more democracy and openness in the country, some of the Armenian residents of Nagorno-Karabakh decided part of their problems could be solved if the region were separated from Azerbaijan and became a part of Armenia. That led to the developments we have mentioned. Ethnic relations, Passionariya Akopyan concludes, are not fixed once and all. They may have their developmental problems and add to the experience the Soviet people have gained in building their multinational state. It's no accident one of the next sessions of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist party is expected to focus on ethnic relations.

Sumgait 'Shortcomings' Viewed

NC190628 Baku Domestic Service in Armenian
0450 GMT 19 Mar 88

[From the republican press review]

[Text] The Central Committee of the Azerbaijan Communist Party has deliberated the shortcomings in organizational work carried out among the populace and the question of the political shortsightedness and failure of the bureau of the Sumgait Gorkom to forestall the tragic events that took place in the city. All republican papers carry the resolution on this subject.

Armenian Cemetery Rally Prevented

AU201506 Paris AFP in English 1147 GMT
20 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow, March 20 (AFP)—Soviet security forces, using loud-hailers and snow ploughs, on Sunday prevented Armenians from gathering in Moscow's Armenian cemetery to press their demand for the redrawing of the borders of an Armenian-dominated region.

Meanwhile, a local Armenian newspaper, in an edition reaching here Sunday, said that 1,761 Armenians, comprising 435 families, had fled to Armenia from the Azerbaijani industrial city of Sumgait after Azerbaijani pogroms on February 28.

Armenians arriving at the cemetery after noon Sunday, for the third such rally, found the street leading to the cemetery marked by a temporary "No Entry" sign, and

the road was virtually barred by police cars. A red-lettered notice had been posted at the entrance to the cemetery, saying that "at the request of the relatives of the dead" the grave-side meetings were now banned. Authorities were checking identity papers at the entrance, and only allowing those who could prove that their relatives were buried inside to enter. A queue of about 50 people had formed to go inside the walled cemetery, while about 200 others, including KGB agents and Western reporters, waited outside in the street where snow ploughs and trucks were manoeuvring constantly.

Last Sunday, about 1,000 Armenians gathered with banners outside the church in the cemetery to call for a rapid settlement of the problem of Nagorno-Karabakh, an autonomous region belonging to Azerbaijan which Armenians want returned to Armenia.

The Armenians also denounced central Soviet media for "disinformation" about the Sumgait massacres which were triggered by unrest in the autonomous region. According to an official toll 32 people were killed, while dissident journalist Sergey Grigoriyants said here on Saturday that 719 had died.

Armenians last month stepped up their campaign for the return of Nagorno-Karabakh, by staging rallies attended by hundreds of thousands of people in Yerevan, the capital of Armenia.

Communist Party authorities in Nagorno-Karabakh last Thursday backed the nationalists' territorial demand, which has been rejected by the Central Committee.

A member of the Yerevan-based "Karabakh Organising Committee", Khambartsum Galastyan, who was among the Armenians waiting outside the cemetery Sunday, denounced Sunday's action by the security forces. He stressed that Armenians were still planning to hold mass demonstrations next Saturday if a solution to their territorial demand was not found. But he added that Armenian Communist Party authorities were pressuring the organising committee to call off the demonstration.

Sunday's PRAVDA newspaper published a series of letters from workers in the republics of Byelorussia, Moldavia and the Latvian city of Riga, who said that their factories' output was being affected by the work stoppages in Armenia and unrest in Azerbaijan. The letters said the factories were falling behind with orders because they lacked spare parts made in Armenia. "Now is the time, comrades, to become reasonable and start some heavy work," the letter from a workshop manager at a Riga electrical machine-building plant said. He said that his factory had not received five tons of electrical cables from Armenia and 70 from Sumgait this year.

Meanwhile, last Friday's KOMMUNIST newspaper from Armenia which reached here Sunday said that a special governmental commission had been set up to deal with the problem of the 1,761 Armenian refugees

who fled from Sumgait. The paper said that some of the refugees were staying with families, while others were given rooms in state rest-homes. It was the first official indication of the number of families who had fled after the massacres in Sumgait, a city of 200,000 inhabited by a few thousand Armenians. The ethnic unrest in Nagorno-Karabakh, in which two Azerbaijanis were killed, and Sumgait massacres, caused an unknown number of Azerbaijani and Armenian families to flee back and forth across the borders of the neighbouring states to seek refuge with relatives.

'Antisocialist' Demands Criticized

PM211221 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Mar 88
Second Edition p 3

[Article by correspondent for Armenian SSR Yu. Arakelyan, correspondent for Azerbaijan SSR Z. Kadymbekov, and special correspondent G. Ovcharenko: "Emotions and Reason. On the Events in and Around Nagorno-Karabakh"—first two paragraphs are introduction; boldface as published]

[Text] Right now, while one's heart and mind are still heavy with the events which have riveted the entire country's attention on Azerbaijan and Armenia, it is difficult to get a comprehensive picture of what happened. And every hasty or unconsidered word can generate—as has occurred—a new outburst of emotions, passions, or even crimes. Nor should one remain silent: Incredible rumors which migrate from one place to another like a herd of animals largely at the will of Western "radio voices"—whose information is supplied by people with an interest in inflaming passions—can also lead to serious consequences.

So, just what is going on in and around Nagorno-Karabakh?

An unprecedented occurrence for our country in the practice of interethnic relations took place on 20 February. By a majority of votes the deputies of the oblast soviet of Azerbaijan's Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] adopted an appeal which requested the supreme soviets of the Azerbaijan and Armenian SSR's to transfer the NKAO from Azerbaijan to Armenia, and the USSR Supreme Soviet to examine this question.

What, it would seem, is bad or strange in this? The time is past when there could only be one opinion on any issue. And if other opinions have emerged, why not examine them and test them in frank discussion? Why not show people conclusively that in the given instance petty local interests have prevailed over state interests?

The Nagorno-Karabakh problem is not as simple as it may appear at first glance, and its roots go back many centuries. The ownership of the region's territory is probably the most complex in the history of inter-national relations among the Transcaucasian peoples. In the past it led to many tragic conflicts exacerbated by religious

differences. In 1918-1920 alone, just before the establishment of Soviet power in Azerbaijan and Armenia, almost one-fifth of the inhabitants of Karabakh were exterminated in a fratricidal war unleashed by members of the Musavat [Azerbaijani nationalist party] and the Dashnaks [Armenian nationalists].

The question of the ownership of the region's territory was resolved in contradictory fashion during the first years of Soviet power. Suffice it to say that the NKAO was set up as part of the Azerbaijan SSR only in July 1923. That seemed to be the end of the matter.

Nonetheless, the Nagorno-Karabakh problem was to reemerge on a number of occasions. As a rule at times when Armenian leaders found it advantageous to distract the public's attention from a mass of unresolved economic and social issues and from the unsuitable working style and methods of the party organization. Proposals were then made to transfer the autonomous oblast to the Armenian SSR: The claim being that the region's population is mainly Armenian and the farming conditions are similar to conditions in Armenia's mountain regions. In its turn the Azerbaijani leadership put forward counterproposals that the administrative borders of the Armenian SSR and of Georgia and Dagestan be altered on the basis of the national makeup of the population of a number of regions of those republics. Experts from both republics joined in the argument. They "delted" into centuries of history, trying to find out which of the peoples originally owned the land. Unfortunately, the scientific arguments were not distinguished by specifics or objectivity, and they confused the issue still further rather than clarifying it. Even today, if Azerbaijani and Armenian historians sit down to discuss matters, each side will explain one and the same fact in a diametrically opposed fashion. Nonetheless, these people have taken masters' degrees and doctorates and become academicians, and quotations from their contradictory works have been brandished like swords in the two republics.

In the heat of argument, which only alienates peoples, the principles of the Leninist nationalities policy were forgotten. The point of forming the USSR was to put an end to national strife and attempts by one people to prove its superiority over another, while at the same time carefully safeguarding the language, culture, and traditions of each people and ethnic group. And when the question of the territorial affiliation of Nagorno-Karabakh was being determined, the Communists of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) Caucasian Bureau primarily took account of one main point—namely, in which republic the region would be able to enjoy more rapid economic and social development in order to ensure that people's lives improved. These conditions were preferable in Azerbaijan, with its industrial and multinational complex. This predetermined the choice. It was not a question of which republic to live in,

but of the quality of life. And in order to prevent any encroachment on the national sentiments of the main population—Armenians—the oblast was granted autonomous status.

Unfortunately, in condemning the style and methods of the personality cult period, people for some reason shamefacedly bypassed the question of the further development of the Leninist traditions of the nationalities policy. During the years of stagnation phenomena people tried not to approach it from any angle. Thus, many of society's ills were submerged and painstakingly covered up. It was somehow forgotten that our union is historically young and that the roots of persisting nationalism are hidden deep in the centuries, and—whether we like it or not—they spring up again under certain conditions. That is why every new generation needs to be educated in the most serious way in an ethos of national feelings which can be the basis for the flourishing of international consciousness.

In the Orient people say that blind reason is worse than blind eyes. While the inculcation of an ethos of national feelings was left to drift, feelings of national egoism appeared. It was this that ultimately brought thousands and thousands of people out onto the streets and squares of Armenia. But let's think: Where and to what were these sentiments leading? To national isolation and exclusivity.

Over the last few decades the NKAO has become bound up with the Republic of Azerbaijan in thousands of ways. So what should happen: Should these links be cut and should there be a break with the existing mechanism? That, though, would have a negative effect on the socioeconomic position not only of Nagorno-Karabakh and Azerbaijan, but of the whole country. What if other regions started similarly satisfying their own interests at the expense of other peoples? What then would become of the union of fraternal peoples and the country's economy? Finally, what would be done with the non-Armenian inhabitants of Nagorno-Karabakh, what about their concerns and needs? Would they be despised?

Did those in Yerevan's Theater Square who welcomed every speaker demanding that the NKAO be made part of Armenia ask themselves these questions? Hardly.

Because, had they thought about these difficult questions—to which there is no pat answer—they would have realized that passions and sentiments are superfluous in this area. Because, as M.S. Gorbachev said in his appeal to the workers and peoples of Azerbaijan and Armenia, the complex problems of inter-nation relations can only be resolved within the framework of the democratic process and legality, not permitting even the slightest damage to the international cohesion of the Soviet peoples and without leaving extremely important questions of the people's destiny at the mercy of random whims and emotions.

The aforesaid does not mean that the party dodges serious problems. On the contrary, restructuring, like any revolutionary situation, reveals such problems, and sometimes—by developing democratic initiatives and glasnost—brings them to the point where, as medical men say, intensive treatment results in an improvement in the condition. It is now planned to hold a CPSU Central Committee plenum on the nationalities question, where it will be examined comprehensively and as a whole. Incidentally, this was announced back at the CPSU Central Committee February Plenum—that is, many days before the events in and around Nagorno-Karabakh.

But by all accounts, it is this sober and businesslike approach to the problem which some people dislike. They replace the true and consistent democratization of society by the democracy of the rally or the street, so to speak, where emotions and passions are the prime movers. Hence the attempts to exert powerful pressure on the state leadership by means of mass rallies, demonstrations, and strikes. On some days there were around 60 enterprises in Armenia not working and in the NKAO labor activity was virtually paralyzed.

The people who took to the streets and squares of Yerevan arrived there from various parts of the republic and were well organized and disciplined. The long-planned and carefully prepared organization of "popular disturbances" played a part here. At enterprises, institutions, and VUZ's there "suddenly" appeared leaders who knew in advance where to take people and at what time, and what slogans to chant. What is more, if some people refused to go to rallies they were publicly shamed, called virtually betrayers of the nation, and made to go to the demonstrations.

There was an efficient system for supplying water, drinks, and food to people as they stood there for many hours. It "suddenly" emerged that there was a substantial fund of money. Speakers with a very poor knowledge of science and history "suddenly" produced a surprising torrent of quotations, economic statistics, and digressions into the ancient past. This all sounded convincing, even though the authenticity of the facts was highly questionable. In any event, when we talked with some of the speakers they found it difficult to say from which book or scientific work they had derived their quotations and figures. The impression was that they were just mouthpieces for other people.

Furthermore, it is now well known that all the actions in Armenia and the NKAO were organized by people who had been insisting for a number of years on the autonomous oblast's affiliation to the Armenian SSR. And that they had recently joined the so-called "Karabakh" committee and had been working for its official recognition.

We attended a session of that committee, where its action program was approved. We believe that if everything said that day in the Writers Center, whose auditorium was obligingly placed at the complete disposal of

the committee members, had been repeated on Theater Square there would have been uninterrupted ovations. For example, there were demands to dismiss or reelect enterprise and party organization leaders and to recall people's deputies and expel them all from the party if they obstructed the creation of "Karabakh" primary committees. But what are these for?

We received no clear answer to that question. The claims that the committees were to struggle for the socioeconomic development of the NKAO and the improvement of the population's well-being were rejected at the session itself. For instance, when he began to read out program items about Nagorno-Karabakh's socioeconomic development the speaker was stopped in his tracks:

"If the Azerbaijan leadership fulfills these demands, Armenia will not see Nagorno-Karabakh again."

There you have it. It turns out that the committee is not concerned with the needs of the Armenian population of Nagorno-Karabakh at all. Instead its anthem includes the following unambiguous lines: "Karabakh today needs living idols," and "we shall defy death and the fear of prison to save our Karabakh." In other words, there is a need for idols which people must blindly obey and follow even to the brink of lawlessness, perhaps—otherwise, what else can "death and the fear of prison" mean here? The impression is that the actions of the members of the newly formed committee are directly prompted, willy-nilly, by those transatlantic Sovietologists who state that socialism in the USSR can be defeated only by breaking it down into national compartments.

This method, incidentally, is not new. Back in 1905 and again in 1918 and 1920 the forces of reaction fanned intercommunal strife between Armenians and Azerbaijanis so as to defuse the revolutionary fervor of the proletariat in the two republics. Restructuring is in progress in the country now—a process which is revolutionary in its essence—and to weaken it some people are again artificially fueling national discord, but this time under the cloak of democratization and glasnost. Thus, as we can see, the "noble" idea of "reunification" has a clear antisocialist tinge.

"The events concerning Nagorno-Karabakh," G. Kocharyan, an assembly worker at the "Elektron" association, believes, "resulted from shortcomings in ideological work and in international education, above all among the younger generation."

If all representatives of the intelligentsia in the two republics thought that way, then passions would probably not have seethed as they did, neither in Stepanakert nor in Yerevan, Baku, or Sumgait. In recent years the CPSU Central Committee has repeatedly drawn the attention of party and soviet leaders in Azerbaijan and Armenia to serious shortcomings in instilling in working people a class approach to social phenomena and to their

education in the spirit of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism. But so far there have been no noticeable changes. Both regions still lack a self-critical approach to the analysis of the situation in the ideological and moral sphere, political incisiveness in the evaluation of negative phenomena, and proper exactingness. The restructuring of ideological work is being hampered by the atmosphere of complacency and conciliatoriness. Many shortcomings and omissions in ideological and educational work have gone unresolved for many years. Party committees and many economic organs have not thoroughly grasped the vital need to work in the new way in conditions of glasnost, the open exchange of opinions, and criticism and self-criticism.

This was discussed at the extraordinary Armenian Communist Party Central Committee plenum. The Communists critically assessed the actions of the republic party's Central Committee Bureau, talking about its loss of contact with the masses, indecisiveness, the unseemly practice of hushing up negative phenomena in Armenia, and attempts to conceal problems between nationalities, which, taken altogether, led to a loss of faith among the masses.

Participants in the plenum spoke about the factors which nullified the explanatory work carried out in labor collectives and among students. The main one was that the agitation personnel and the party aktiv were ignorant of the question under discussion. Generalized appeals calling for calm and patience were thus made at enterprises, but no constructive solutions were proposed.

The Azerbaijan party organization, particularly its leadership, also merits severe criticism. After all, it was not just a desire for territorial affiliation to Armenia that brought tens of thousands of Armenians out onto the streets of Stepanakert. They were brought out primarily by dissatisfaction with shortcomings in the NKAO's socioeconomic development and encroachment on national and other rights.

The NKAO has undoubtedly achieved a good deal economically as part of the Azerbaijan SSR during the years of Soviet power. Not all questions of economic and social life have of course been resolved here as quickly as one would wish. The problem is that when the April wind of change blew it hardly affected Nagorno-Karabakh. People quoted us facts showing that even now, as in the years of stagnation, local initiative is fettered by Azerbaijan's directive organs, that per capita capital investment is lower in the NKAO than in other regions of the republic, that study of the history of Armenia's people had been abolished in Armenian schools by arbitrary instruction from above in Baku, and that it was even necessary to get the program of cultural links with Armenia authorized in republic departments.

These issues do exist. And not, I think, just in Nagorno-Karabakh. Unfortunately, the laws on each autonomous oblast adopted 10 years ago are far from being fully

operative and are sometimes even ignored by republic authorities. This only shows once again that the problem needs to be resolved comprehensively on a countrywide scale. And such work has now started, on the threshold of the CPSU Central Committee plenum on national problems. The Politburo has instructed the CPSU Central Committee Secretariat to organize an in-depth and comprehensive study of the problems built up in the NKAO and the reasons for the exacerbation of national relations concerning it and to formulate appropriate proposals. B. Kevorkov, first secretary of the Nagorno-Karabakh party obkom, who was in many respects to blame for the negative phenomena that accumulated in the NKAO and which people are talking about today with such pain, has already been dismissed.

But let us return to the events in and around Karabakh. Having not initially overstepped the bounds of the democratic processes in the country, they rapidly grew into nationalist manifestations. As we have already noted, the party organizations' isolation from the masses and the leaders' inability to conduct a frank conversation with people had their effect. And this vacuum was instantly exploited by people trying to elevate themselves to the position of "leaders" and "chiefs" of their nations, to camouflage their own ambitious pretensions with a supposed display of the people's will. They filled their audiences with demagogic half-truths, they interpreted history arbitrarily, they disseminated absurd rumors, and using irresponsible statements they set the sparks of national dissension. Did they imagine what all this might lead to?

But the situation continued to deteriorate. The first outburst occurred in Azerbaijan's Agdamskiy Rayon, which is a neighbor of the NKAO. Elements in the grip of nationalist sentiments succeeded in cobbling together a crowd and leading it into the NKAO's Askeranskiy Rayon "to impose order." As a result of the ensuing clashes two people were killed and many injured people were hospitalized. If it had not been for the decisive actions of the militia and sensible citizens, there would have been many more casualties there.

The events in Sumgait were more terrible. Exploiting the explosive situation, criminal elements bent on robbery forced their way into some apartments where Armenians were living. Lawlessness, violence, and the humiliation of people went a long way in this multinational city. Not only Armenians but people of other nationalities suffered. Most of those to blame for the disorders, in which 32 people died and over 100 were injured, have been arrested. To this it must be added that much damage was inflicted on the economy of the autonomous oblast, Azerbaijan and Armenia, and the country as a whole. Because, whichever union or autonomous republic or oblast you take, it constitutes an inalienable link in the integrated national economic and political complex that has taken shape over the years of Soviet power. Moral-political harm is also inflicted on people in the fraternal republics.

Yet there is no doubt that the events which have occurred certainly will not shake the friendship of the Azerbaijani and Armenian peoples. It is stronger and firmer than any manifestations of nationalist egoism. This friendship has been tested by time.

One of us managed to talk in Shamshadinskiy Rayon with revolution veteran A. Dzhagaryan. He had set up a communist cell there and fought as a partisan in the mountains. The hospitality of Museyib Aliyev—a Bolshevik in the Azerbaijani settlement of Tavuz—had particularly engraved itself in his memory. When Musavatists cut them off, the Azerbaijani communists answered his appeal for help and supplied the beleaguered Armenians with kerosene, bread, and grain....

That was in the twenties. While in the seventies a monument was erected here in honor of M. Aliyev, M. Mamedov, S. Shakibekov, and others. Beneath the communards' Azerbaijani names an Armenian craftsman's chisel has incised the wise words: "You do not shoot people who offer hospitality!"

The incomparable Sayat-Nova [18th century Armenian troubadour and martyr] sang of the same theme in the three Transcaucasian languages: "Do not spurn hospitality but stay faithful to your vow...."

Sayat-Nova was singing about the vow of friendship among the peoples. This precept of his was remembered by both Azerbaijanis and Armenians during the very grave events concerning Nagorno-Karabakh. Thus, many Azerbaijani residents of Sumgait—even in the face of a threat to their own lives—showed themselves to be genuine internationalists. They selflessly rescued Armenian families—their work comrades, neighbors, relatives. They sheltered them from the raging mob in their own apartments, homes, and enterprise shops.

"There would have been more casualties," General V. Krayev relates, "if we had not been assisted by the inhabitants. Thus, one bus driver, an Azerbaijani, immediately brought 10 Armenians to the city of Sheki, his own home town. Another Azerbaijani family blocked the path of some hooligans into a multistory block. A worker was traveling on a bus with his Armenian friend. A group of people who suddenly halted the vehicle demanded that he be handed over. The Azerbaijani himself sustained injuries, but he saved his friend."

Many Azerbaijani internationalists acted in this way. Legends are already taking shape in the city about an elderly woman who disregarded threats to head off and halt some young hooligan thugs.

But there were also those who in the hour of trouble failed to offer a helping hand to their compatriots. Shame on them...

A session of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee Bureau took place the other day to discuss the questions of the party, soviet, and administrative organs' responsibility for the mass disturbances and the excesses which occurred in Sumgait 28 February. By a decision of the bureau, Party Gorkom First Secretary Muslim-Zade was relieved of his duties and expelled from the party. City internal affairs department acting chief Dzhamalov was expelled from the party. He was dismissed from the internal affairs organs. Gorispolkom Chairman Mamedov was relieved of his duties and given a severe reprimand with endorsement of his record card. Penalties were also imposed on other party gorkom secretaries.

It remains to be ascertained who incited the unstable, unaware segment of the population and how, who led it, and who fueled the nationalist hysteria. The investigation now under way in Sumgait will answer these questions. One thing is certain: The criminals will receive their deserts, and every one of their actions will be properly evaluated in accordance with Soviet laws. PRAVDA will give its account of this.

...It is difficult now to understand fully and comprehensively all that has happened in Azerbaijan and Armenia. That will take time. But the following is a case which helps a lot in understanding the events surrounding Nagorno-Karabakh. The large Veliyev family lives in Stepanakert. Its head, Sattar-Kishi, an Azerbaijani and war veteran, is dead. But his widow—Gegush, an Armenian, and his six sons and daughters are alive. The boys married Armenians, the girl married an Azerbaijani. They have children. What are they all to do regarding the national discord?

The USSR is our common home. It has been built by our grandfathers, fathers, brothers, and sisters. It is the duty of every one of us to protect and care for it. This idea is the main theme running through the readers' letters now being received by the editorial office. Working people in the country are deeply concerned about the events. They urge that emotion be resisted and call for a sober approach and reason.

Situation 'Very Serious'

AU211330 Paris AFP in English 1322 GMT
21 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow, March 21 (AFP)—A leading Armenian nationalist expressed dismay Monday at the Soviet authorities' rejection of Armenian calls for the Nagorno-Karabakh region to be returned to Armenia. Igor Muradian added in a telephone conversation with AFP that the rejection, signalled Monday by the Communist Party daily PRAVDA, had dashed hopes of an early end to nationalist unrest between Armenia and Azerbaijan, of which Nagorno-Karabakh has been a part since 1923. PRAVDA said that the "noble" idea of 'reunification' has a clear anti-socialist smell."

"I am now afraid for our people," Mr Muradian said. He added that "real extremists" may now take matters into their own hands. On Saturday, Mr Muradian called for moderation at a meeting of Armenian activists in the Armenian capital of Yerevan. He said that he feared there would be new clashes in Azerbaijan, adding that "the situation has changed and become very serious." Mr Muradian, who is a member of the Armenian Organizing Committee grouping local leaders including Communist Party members, said that "we tried to control the (nationalist) movement, but now it is totally spontaneous." He stressed that the Armenian people, which is now "on the edge of the abyss," must "above all safeguard its national dignity."

15 Tatar Demonstrators Detained in Moscow

AU201536 Paris AFP in English 1423 GMT
20 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow, March 20 (AFP)—Police detained about 15 people here Sunday during a demonstration by Crimean Tatars wanting to return to their homeland on the Black Sea. An AGENCE-FRANCE PRESSE correspondent at the scene said police arrived minutes after the demonstrators had gathered outside Lenin Library, near the Kremlin, carrying portraits of Lenin and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev. A banner recalled Lenin's decree creating an autonomous Tatar republic in the Crimea. It was revoked after the Tatars were deported from the Black Sea peninsula in 1944.

One of the demonstrators told AFP they wanted the Communist Party leadership to make a decision on their case at an upcoming meeting on nationalist problems. A specific date has not yet been set for the meeting.

Similar demonstrations were to be held Sunday in regions where Tatars now live—Krasnodar, in central Asia, and the Crimea, where a few thousand Tatars have returned despite opposition from local authorities, the spokesman added.

Earlier this month Crimean Tatars rejected a government offer to allow an unspecified number of them return to some areas of their homeland if local authorities agreed.

Their latest protest comes in the wake of increasing nationalist unrest by various ethnic groups in the Soviet Union.

Zaykov Addresses Moscow Gorkom Plenum

PM180901 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Mar 88
Second Edition p 2

[Correspondent Yu. Kazmin report: "Key Areas: The Capital's Communists Discuss the CPSU Central Committee February Plenum Decisions"]

[Text] Moscow—People with diplomas from Moscow VUZ's, technical colleges, and schools live and work in distant Kamchatka and the oilfields of Western Siberia,

on the Baykal-Amur Railroad, and in the fraternal socialist countries. Wherever they were born and whatever their nationality they count themselves among the illustrious breed of Muscovites. But the prestige of Moscow schools must be constantly developed and reinforced. There can be no stopping. To rest on your laurels is to forfeit your advanced position and to act as a brake on progress. That is precisely what has happened, it was noted at the Moscow party gorkom plenum held yesterday.

"In accordance with the guidelines of the CPSU Central Committee February Plenum, we must seriously reconsider the position of the educational system in the city's economic complex. All this must be taken fully into account in the General Plan for the Development of Moscow City and Oblast for the Period Through 2010 and in the 'Progress-95' program, which are currently being formulated," Yu.S. Karabasov, secretary of Moscow CPSU Gorkom, said in the report.

He and other speakers said that the present situation cannot be deemed satisfactory. The city's need for cadres of highly skilled specialists, foremen, and workers are not being considered sufficiently accurately. Plans for admission to vocational and technical colleges, secondary specialized educational institutions, and VUZ's are still being formed haphazardly. The transition to a contractual basis in training cadres is proceeding slowly. Moscow enterprises' needs for many worker trades are only 20-25 percent satisfied. The demand for specialist cadres is only 70 percent fulfilled.

The contribution of Moscow's higher education to accelerating scientific and technical progress is far below its potential. Scientific work is sometimes spread over a large number of so-called "dissertation" themes and is often divorced from practical life.

It is important for raykoms and party organizations to more actively develop the principles of democratization and self-management in educational institutions and to inculcate in young people a sense of being master of their own collective. The effectiveness of educational work depends largely on the philosophical training of teachers. Every teacher must not only impart knowledge, the plenum participants said, but must also defend the ideals and values of the Great October Revolution.

These and other questions were raised in the speeches of V.I. Anufriyev, first secretary of Kuntsevskiy party raykom, L.V. Polikashina, director of the No 526 Secondary School, V.B. Nosov, general director of the No 1 State Bearing Plant, A.S. Yeliseyev, rector of the Bauman Moscow Higher Technical School, V.Ye. Chabrikov, leader of a team of construction workers, and others.

L.N. Zaykov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, delivered a speech at the plenum. He said that today, when the concept of restructuring is being embodied in concrete results, when the

masses are having an increasingly significant say in resolving tasks on both state and local scale, and when the campaign to eliminate stereotypes which have a braking effect is becoming nationwide in character, no one can stand aside, maintain a parasitical silence, or shirk responsibility for their allotted task.

Summing up the results of the principled discussion, L.N. Zaykov noted that whatever facet of restructuring we consider, they all directly affect man's consciousness and hinge on the individual's maturity. Unfortunately, education in Moscow today is thoroughly neglected. Muscovites cannot have failed to see the real product of "education" of this kind: There has been an increase in the number of semieducated people with VUZ diplomas who are unprepared for labor or for defense and who, furthermore, possess distorted moral principles.

The plenum documents and M.S. Gorbachev's speech substantiated key questions of ideological renewal. They are a creative continuation of the era of revolutionary transformations begun in April 1985 and the course of the 27th congress and the Central Committee January and June plenums. After convincingly confirming the consistency of the party line and fidelity to the unchanging values of socialism, the Central Committee plenum reemphasized that the main figure in restructuring is Soviet man. His political and moral qualities, level of culture and education, patriotic and international convictions, professional skill and sense of duty assume decisive significance, the speaker said.

The party gorkom and raykoms, soviets, and education organs have been set the task of comprehensively strengthening in schools the atmosphere of creativity and responsibility for the fate of restructuring. It is necessary to actively expand the network of specialized schools and classes offering a thorough study of a variety of subjects and to recruit higher education teachers and leading national economic specialists to work in them. The crucial figure in the restructuring of the entire public education system was and remains the teacher.

Creating a system of continuous education now in progress, a system which is to apply to all elements of the educational process, including skill improvement and cadre retraining, is an object of special concern for party committees and soviet and economic organs. To this end it is necessary to more rapidly complete the establishment of the corresponding network of educational institutions. The aim is to ensure that restructuring becomes not only the deeply perceived party cause of every Communist but also the patriotic duty of every citizen.

The transition to the new methods of economic management and the implementation of the USSR Law on the State Enterprise have promoted the further development of the principles of collectivism and comradely mutual assistance, the introduction of self-management, and the enhancement of cadres' responsibility. But at the same time it is necessary to determinedly overcome the inertia

of the braking process and to eliminate conventional thinking. The transfer to full economic accountability of 496 industrial enterprises producing 70 percent of Moscow's total output promoted the successful fulfillment of the current year's plans and targets. These are the first signs that the Law on the State Enterprise is providing a reliable protection against planning methods based on arbitrary edicts and gives labor collectives a real opportunity to justify and defend their own position. All this is having a positive effect on working people's attitudes and reinforces their confidence in the correctness of the party's economic policy.

At the same time considerable numbers of workers and specialists are skeptical and do not believe that anything has changed. Careful analysis shows that restructuring is being held up mainly by outright omissions by officials both in central planning and economic organs, at the city and rayon level and indeed within enterprises themselves. In this context it is necessary to remember the principled stance taken by the party Central Committee: No one is allowed to shift the responsibility for the administration's misdeeds onto the workers' shoulders or to discredit the economic reform. For that reason party gorkom and raykom departments and party organizations are instructed to painstakingly investigate every instance of distortion of the principles of the new economic mechanism and violation of the Law on the State Enterprise.

It is very important to accelerate the mastery of democratic management methods—the vital element of restructuring. These lessons are being learned in various ways. There is a growing number of people who act boldly and intelligently in a truly state-minded way when resolving questions of planning and the development of production and the social sphere at their enterprises. People are standing tall and feel themselves to be masters of their country, city, plant, and shop. But there are still quite a few people who see democratization as a threat to their personal ambitions, who do everything they can to slow down the development of self-management, and who pressure their subordinates who dare to use their right to speak out. It is no coincidence that labor collective councils are encountering serious difficulties as they begin their existence. Trade unions have still not found their place in the vast work of developing democratization in production.

The ideological and moral education of Communists and all working people is more vital now than ever before. The party's slogan of "More socialism!" requires innovative approaches to ideological and educational work. This means that it is necessary to resolutely eliminate old, unsuitable stereotypes in this most important sphere of the party's activity.

A solicitous attitude toward our great historical and cultural legacy is the party's principled position and a vital source of patriotism and internationalism which increases the strength and energy of all the generations taking part in restructuring.

It is necessary to make individual work with people increasingly thorough and to resolutely abandon the "wholesale" approach in ideological work. We are entitled to demand more active and coordinated actions in this area of restructuring from party committees, trade union and Komsomol organizations, and law enforcement organs. Party raykoms face the task of making our propaganda work system as mobile as possible, dynamic, and capable of responding quickly to new requirements.

Without reliable sociological information gained on a rigorous scientific basis it is impossible to correctly forecast the situation or to plan actions aimed at resolving the city's acute social and economic problems.

This is particularly important today, when the development of the "Progress-95" program has begun and when the task has been set of ensuring a practical, comprehensive approach to solving territorial problems, of breaking down the persisting departmental barriers, and of focusing efforts on the priority areas of work and on resolving the main task—the comprehensive intensification of the capital's economy.

The renewal of all spheres of our social life is closely connected with restructuring international relations. This has a direct effect on Moscow, which has many diverse foreign ties. In the interests of restructuring the capital should make fuller use of the best foreign experience and above all the experience of our friends in the socialist countries.

Moscow's working people have set high targets in socialist competition in honor of the approaching 19th all-union party conference, L.N. Zaykov said. Their battle cry today is: Less talk, more practical action. Therein lies the point and main content of restructuring in the capital. The task facing all levels of the city party organization as they approach this very important event in the life of the party and the country is to creatively consider the new phenomena in social life, comprehensively support the patriotic initiative of Muscovites, and ensure considerable and weighty practical results in all areas of restructuring.

The Moscow CPSU Gorkom Plenum adopted a detailed resolution on the questions under discussion.

Solovyev Interviewed on Youth Education
PM161451 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Mar 88
Second Edition pp 1-2

[Interview with Yu.F. Solovyev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of Leningrad party obkom, by special correspondents V. Gerasimov and V. Kozhemyako in Leningrad, under the rubric "Reflections Prior to the Party Conference": "Following On"; date of interview not given]

[Text] [Correspondent] Yuriy Filippovich, tell me, what do you find pleasing and what do you find distressing about young people today?

[Solovyev] What is pleasing is their active participation in society's life, the sincere desire to make a practical contribution to the resolution of diverse problems—economic, technical, ideological, moral, social....

Seeking independence and trust, the majority of young people prove their right to these things by their insatiable hunger for innovation, their reluctance to live by obsolete norms, their keen sense of social justice, and their rejection of formalism. These young people want to participate in the general movement for society's renewal sincerely, not by verbally condemning shortcomings, but by rectifying them in practice. And I think this desire must be supported in every way.

What is distressing is that one comes across young people who are characterized by the desire to secure the maximum number of life's benefits and pleasures as quickly as possible, without working. To enter life by the back door, so to speak, through favoritism. The substitution of consumerist and parasitic sentiments for lofty ideals has never done the young generation credit, still less today.

The new economic mechanism and economic accountability [khozraschetnyye] relationships in teams, sectors, and shops make increased demands on professional skill and on each worker's responsibility for the task entrusted to him. But a certain section of young people has proved unwilling to accept this. This once again confirms how persistently and consistently we need to implement the well thought out program for improving the teaching and education of our successors that was adopted at the CPSU Central Committee February Plenum.

[Correspondent] You doubtless saw the movie "Is It Easy To Be Young?" We would like to hear your view on the problems it raises.

[Solovyev] The Riga movie makers' film made a forceful impression on me: They raised very acute problems concerning young people's attempts to find their place in life or to escape it, which also can be regarded as a form of self-assertion; they showed where and why there is a kind of "watershed" between generations, and they made older people, myself included, start thinking about how to overcome this phase of alienation which we often prefer not to notice. But if we refuse to see something, that does not make it cease to exist. So it is necessary to seek ways and means of bringing young people in, involving them in participation in creative, not destructive processes! That is the task. And the recent Central Committee plenum did much to focus our attention on this.

[Correspondent] What, in your view, are the criteria for assessing the activity of Komsomol organizations today?

[Solovyev] Like any other work, Komsomol work should be assessed by end results. Not by the proportion of young people who are members of the Komsomol's ranks

or by the number of events held, but by the level of social and political activeness of young men and women, by the quality of the tasks they resolve, by concrete deeds.

It is no secret that the Komsomol did not escape the serious hitches in the practice of socialist democracy. Elements of formalism and careerism under cover of saying the right things arose here too, weakened young people's interest in public affairs, and led to the emergence of apathy and skepticism.

Young people, the Komsomol, restructuring—these are concepts of the same order, and should become inseparable. It is young people who must take the lead in the establishment of positive processes—it is they who inherit both good and bad from us. And our errors and delusions must largely be rectified by our successors, so that they do not have to drag the burden of the past with them into the future.

[Correspondent] At the 20th Komsomol Congress mistakes which did great damage to the Komsomol's prestige were discussed. How can the living link between Komsomol organizations and nonunion young people be restored? Is it possible to eradicate formalism, bureaucratic methods in the Komsomol's work, the mania for initiatives, and the sloganeering approach?

[Solovyev] The ideas of restructuring have met with an ardent response and understanding among young people. And the Komsomol must find its place in this revolutionary process. How? Only through action, through the energetic, concrete, practical resolution of socially significant tasks. For instance, participating in the construction of youth housing complexes, creating economically accountable centers of scientific and technical creativity, developing the network of cooperatives, and solving a great many problems in organizing leisure. Links between the Komsomol and nonunion young people only arise and become strong through shared concerns.

Formalism is tenacious and is still strong, and its secondary cancers are making their presence felt to this day. Paradoxically, for some reason it is the unsuccessful, ossified forms of party and soviet work that are most imitated by the Komsomol to this day. However, positive developments can also be seen—first and foremost in cadre policy and the organization of various events. Relatively recently, for instance, it was impossible to conceive of Komsomol meetings and plenums without careful preliminary rehearsal, or the election of a committee secretary by a direct vote, as a result of a contest for nomination. There are now many examples of this already. Realistically minded young people who are devoted to the cause and to whom empty talk is alien are joining the Komsomol leadership.

[Correspondent] It was said from the platform of the 20th Komsomol Congress: "Fewer impressive words, more practical deeds with impressive content." How is this appeal being implemented by the Leningrad Komsomol?

[Solovyev] We are accustomed to the idea that Komsomol members should be first in the tough sectors of socialist building, in the thick of the matters that affect young people's interests. I do not think the Komsomol should abandon this tradition. Take the housing problem. Youth housing complexes are a remarkable help in resolving it: The kids are building apartments for themselves, and therefore they work with interest and an increased sense of responsibility.

The Leningrad Komsomol has other concrete programs too. The Komsomol committees of enterprises set up ad hoc economically accountable collectives, for instance. These work in their free time under contracts with the administration. The benefit is mutual. It helps production, and the young families' budget is boosted markedly. At "Svetlana" such teams are carrying out a major refurbishment of the youth club. In the "Kirovskiy Zavod" association they have been entrusted with decorating the production premises.

It is well known that the question of retaining young people in the countryside is urgent. The Komsomol obkom has defined several avenues of work for itself in this respect. Rural vocational and technical schools are now filled solely with young people from organizations in the agro-industrial complex, and the graduates of these schools are subsequently distributed among the oblast's farms. At rural construction projects and in land reclamation work Komsomol and youth shock detachments are winning a good reputation. One such detachment has embarked on the creation of the village of the future—the settlement of Imochenitsy in Lodeynopolskiy Rayon. After building the settlement, the detachment's fighters will stay to live and work on the "Borets" Sovkhoz.

Every year tens of thousands of Leningrad school students are involved in work in various sectors of the national economy. Some 100 permanent student production teams are now in operation in the city and oblast. Helping their elders to the extent of their powers and abilities, the kids undergo a good education in moral and labor tempering. And the role of the older generation's educational function in such cases should not be underestimated.

[Correspondent] Can you tell us, please, about Leningrad young people's contribution to economic development, to the acceleration of scientific and technical progress. What difficulties and problems have been encountered?

[Solovyev] We associate many of the Leningraders' achievements with young people's energy and commitment, with their initiative and creative drive. After all, one in four working people in the production sphere and one-third of the specialists and leaders in the oblast agro-industrial complex are under 30.

Komsomol committees and young scientists' and specialists' councils are sponsoring dozens of facilities involved in the development of new equipment and technology. Since the start of the current 5-year plan young innovators have introduced into production around 50,000 rationalization proposals and inventions with a saving of nearly R70 million.

Certainly, one would like as many young people as possible to become involved in such useful and socially significant activities. But the traditional caution is often still exercised by many older people. Some leaders have still not learned how to properly evaluate young people's enthusiasm and potential and do not always have confidence in them. Mental inertia is still strong. But I believe that the practice of restructuring will alter the mentality and make people use the Komsomol more adventurously. Presumably this will be aided by the regional public and state system of youth scientific and technical creativity which we are currently setting up. As well as a regional council, rayon centers are also being organized under this program. So anyone who is not entirely lazy will find an outlet for his or her energy, inventiveness, and imagination.

Interesting, creative work occupies one of the top places in the system of prestige values as far as young people are concerned. It is possible to find a profession to one's liking—there are several dozen VUZ's and hundreds of vocational and technical colleges in the city. But, on acquiring a specialty, many graduates end up in enterprises where there is a large proportion of routine, manual labor. There is a disparity between what people want and reality and all that it implies. The program for the reconstruction and retooling of enterprises is helping to bridge the gap as far as possible, although, certainly, much more work has to be done to achieve the desired harmony if at all possible.

[Correspondent] PRAVDA has received many anxious letters, some from Leningrad, about young people's passion for what are not the best types of modern music. Many people believe that we are being given false ideals and aesthetic values in this way....

[Solovyev] That is so. And there were anxious words about this at the recent Central Committee plenum. The cause, as I see it, is the spiritual immaturity of a section of young people and the fact that they lack the training and ability to find their bearings in the sphere of music, fashion, and sport. A lack of taste, of course, too. Aping Western "mass culture" is not exactly innocuous. It is a kind of time bomb planted under our ideology and morals. Underestimation of these phenomena sometimes results in the most serious consequences.

In this connection the problem of leisure cannot be viewed in isolation from the moral and psychological atmosphere in the family, collective, and society. This, above all, is where young people's philosophical outlook and spiritual world are shaped. Who if not the party and

Komsomol is going to reinforce with qualitatively new organizational measures the economic and social changes which are taking place in society and establish in the younger generation's consciousness a scale of genuine moral values? It is a difficult but very important and noble task.

Komsomol members are becoming increasingly actively involved with it right now. Hobby clubs, amateur creative associations, and debating societies are being set up and new young people's cafes are opening up. As I said before, there are youth centers in rayons. They bring together a variety of creative collectives under one roof, cause them to interact and influence one another, and involve as wide a range of young people as possible in creative activity in accordance with the principles of self-management and economic accountability. The sphere of influence extends to schools, vocational and technical colleges, and youth clubs. We are well aware that the Komsomol needs help from soviet bodies and public organizations in the development and strengthening of the material and technical base of leisure pursuits. For example, in conjunction with the Komsomol obkom we still have to equip youth centers with the best types of Soviet-made musical and video equipment. Young innovators are quite capable of solving this task.

[Correspondent] At the last Komsomol congress it was noted that conditions must be created for mass youth participation in the process of the renewal and democratization of society, and they must be helped to master the political culture of socialism in practice. What is being done about this in Leningrad and Leningrad Oblast?

[Solovyev] I will say it again: The most important and vital thing for young people is our confidence. I could give dozens of examples where confidence has achieved what neither persuasion nor edification were able to achieve. There is only one way to do it: Go to young people with a specific, interesting proposal.

Let us strengthen the Komsomol's links with soviet and trade union bodies. It is naive to suppose that the Komsomol can tackle everything independently. Let us try to widen youth representation on elected party, soviet, and trade union bodies. Let us also create the requisite working conditions for youth associations and groups whose activity has a natural positive momentum.

We are appreciative of the movement for environmental conservation and of young people's concern for the preservation of historical and cultural monuments. On the other hand, Leningraders have a natural aversion to the various groups which accompany their gatherings with ballyhoo and antisocial behavior. We must all stop and think: Why does the irrepressible energy of some young people not find an outlet in useful activity? Why do dual morality, adventurism, consumerism, materialistic attitudes, cupidity, and drug addiction exist among young people?

Young Leningraders do not go along with such "movements." This is plainly indicated by the entire course of social processes. It is time, and the sooner the better, for the Komsomol to overcome its timidity in the struggle against abnormal phenomena and against the scum of demagoguery that has appeared on the wave of glasnost. It is necessary to learn to be militant and assertive as well as tactful in work with various youth groups and associations. One must not forget that they are our young people and one must struggle for them.

In organizational and educational work the premise should be that the appearance of youth movements is by and large a positive phenomenon indicative of the growth of social activeness due to the improvement and democratization of our life.

The Komsomol must be able to demonstrate that the restructuring tasks correspond above all to young people's interests. By its very nature restructuring is a long-term thing and the future, as Lenin said, belongs to young people.

[Correspondent] We know that Leningrad Oblast has a great deal of interesting experience of party leadership of the Komsomol. At the same time, letters are received which say that some party committees have no confidence in the potential of Komsomol organizations, regulate their activity, and exercise petty tutelage over them. How do you regard these questions in the light of the 27th CPSU Congress demands and the preparations for the 19th all-union party conference?

[Solovyev] The Leningrad Oblast party organization regards as one of its main tasks the implementation of the kind of party leadership of the Komsomol which places the maximum trust in young people and gives them scope for initiative and creativity. I will quote a few examples. Around 300 secretaries of major Komsomol organizations have been elected to party bodies. Several Komsomol gorkom and raykom first secretaries are members of the bureaus of corresponding party committees.

The following fact is also indicative. Party bodies are entrusting enterprising Komsomol members with leading economic and soviet work. Only recently Komsomol members have taken charge of several important areas of the region's national economic complex.

But I agree with the people who are writing in: In relations between party and Komsomol committees an unsuitable, obsolete style of leadership can still occasionally be seen. I will say that in these cases party committees and party bureaus and their secretaries are being shortsighted. By curbing young people's energy they are limiting their opportunities and depriving them of prospects.

[Correspondent] The lesson of history, the education of young people in the best traditions. How does one treat them, what does one do?

[Solovyev] No people can develop successfully without knowing its own history. It is axiomatic. Mikhail Sergeevich Gorbachev made some very fine comments about our Soviet history at the CPSU Central Committee February Plenum. Young people must always know their roots. We must teach the younger generation to adopt a dialectical approach to the past. I see this as a very important issue for the upcoming all-union party conference. Party lessons in truth must guard against repetition of errors but not cancel out the good things we have a right to be proud of.

The process of reinterpreting the past is a difficult one. We must not see the black side alone. We must not forget young people's past exploits in the war, at construction sites, in science.... This is our history too, its invaluable asset. In other words, it is necessary to transmit to the younger generation the spiritual values our people have borne through all the ordeals—ideological conviction, labor enthusiasm, Soviet patriotism, and internationalism. The fate of restructuring, the fate of socialism depend on it.

'No Solid Evidence' Available AIDS Man-Made
LD182308 Moscow World Service in English
1600 GMT 18 Mar 88

[Text] Radio Moscow has lately been receiving more letters from its listeners enquiring about the views of Soviet medical scientists concerning the origin of the disease AIDS, Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome. Our science correspondent Boris Belitskiy has just interviewed Dr Valentin Pokrovskiy, president of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences, who said he supported the theory of the natural origin of the virus. This was also the opinion voiced by his son, Dr Vadim Pokrovskiy, a leading AIDS researcher in this country. The same view was voiced by the late Dr Viktor Zhdanov who headed the Institute of Virology until his recent death. In the view of Soviet medical researchers there is no solid evidence to support the theory that the AIDS virus is man-made. They also consider it imperative that medical scientists in various countries pool their efforts in the campaign to defeat the plague of the 20th century.

Scientists Believe AIDS Origins 'Natural'
LD191900 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1600 GMT 19 Mar 88

[Telephone interview with Candidate of Medical Sciences Vadim Valentinovich Pokrovskiy, departmental chief at the specialized research laboratory for AIDS epidemiology and prevention at the USSR Health Ministry Central Epidemiology Institute, by unidentified interviewer, date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Interviewer] Do you hear me, Vadim Valentinovich?

[Pokrovskiy] Yes, yes, I am listening.

[Interviewer] What is the situation with AIDS in our country? Have there been changes compared to the latest data?

[Pokrovskiy] No, for as long as a year—approximately since March last year—as few as four cases of AIDS have been recorded in our country. Of them only one is a Soviet citizen. Apart from this, there have been three AIDS cases involving foreigners. However, over the past year 46 AIDS virus carriers have been found. And, of course, some of them could develop the disease. Apart from that, other persons affected by the virus might be found. Therefore, the situation remains complex enough, especially as many foreigners come to our country, and among them more than 200 infected persons have been found.

[Interviewer] Vadim Valentinovich, reports have recently appeared again alleging that the AIDS virus had an artificial cause, although it seemed that earlier this problem had been solved by scientists. How are things really?

[Pokrovskiy] Today an increasing number of facts are emerging to corroborate the natural origins of the virus. Some time earlier scientists and the public were perplexed by the fact that the AIDS virus had no close links among pathogenic organisms encountered in animals. However, last year several viruses of this kind were discovered, and this points precisely to its natural origins. At the moment, there are two major sources of the disease—Central Africa and North America. Probably, the virus sprang up in one of those regions, yet we are unable to determine yet the origins of its evolution—where and when it appeared.

[Interviewer] However, it is clear that it has natural origins?

[Pokrovskiy] Yes, not a single Soviet scientist believes that it has artificial origins. In general, viruses causing infections, serious diseases, and bacteria of that sort have been turning up throughout the history of human-kind; and there is nothing unusual in the fact that the virus has emerged.

Ukrainian CP CC Decision on Construction
AU170845 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian
11 Mar 88 p 1

[Unattributed report: "In the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee"; boldface as published]

[Excerpts] The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee has examined the progress made in restructuring the republic's construction complex, and the measures to ensure the commissioning of facilities for the social sphere and important production facilities in 1988.

The decision that was adopted notes that the economic reform and the activity of labor collectives democratized under the law on the state enterprise have had a positive impact on the results of work. Large production facilities planned for the second year of the 5-year period were put into service in ferrous metallurgy, the power, machine building, chemical, and light industries, and in the agro-industrial complex. The plans for putting into service houses, schools for general education and vocational schools, and children's and medical establishments were overfulfilled. The targets for increasing labor productivity were achieved.

At the same time, the process of restructuring in this important branch is slow. The utilization of capital investments and the commissioning of fixed assets are falling short of the plans. There are delays in creating a number of production capacities, and allocations for housing and civil construction are not being fully utilized.

The attention of the Ukrainian SSR Gosplan, ministries, and departments has been called to shortcomings in the planning of capital works, as well as to delays in supplying projects with planning documents and particularly with equipment. Many contracting organizations do not cope with the volumes of work, do not concentrate their energies and resources on the main sectors, and pay too little attention to the development of their own production bases and of building materials enterprises. Collective contracting, economic accountability, contracted price, and other economic levers do not ensure high returns everywhere. [passage omitted]

The attention of Comrades V.P. Salo, V.I. Cherep, and A.R. Shtundel, ministers, and of Comrade A.P. Martynenko, chief of the Main Kiev Construction Administration, has been called to shortcomings in developing and improving their own production bases. They have also been instructed to radically improve the construction of building materials enterprises.

The Central Committee has obligated obkoms and Kiev Gorkom to tighten control over the fulfillment of the plans for capital construction, to increase the role of basic party organizations in this sphere to shift the center of gravity in mass political work directly to labor collectives, and to direct restructuring and economic reform in the branch in a well-considered manner.

Journalists Reminded of Duty To Tell Truth
PM161221 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Mar 88
Second Edition p 3

[Article by D. Avraamov, deputy chief editor of the journal ZHURNALIST, under the rubric "Problems and Judgments": "Journalist's Responsibility"; boldface as published]

[Text] Moscow—An oblast newspaper's editorial board was discussing a young staffer's misdemeanor. In preparing an editorial, he had decided to begin it a little more

effectively—with a statement to the party by a Komsomol congress delegate. But since he did not have time to contact the delegate, he recalled how such statements sound and composed its text himself....

Of course, the fabrication of a document is an extraordinary case. But the young journalist made up his mind to do it quite unperturbed. And it was not right away but only after concerted censure by his seniors that he realized that he had overstepped the bounds of what is permissible. Why did he himself not notice this limit? Replying to my question, the young colleague recalled how "for the good of the cause" he had, not just once or twice, inserted huge chunks into other people's materials. Or else he had written an entire article from beginning to end but appended someone else's signature to it.

Yes, the habit of manipulating information is genetically linked with the "pseudonymity" [zaavtorstvo] entrenched in the ways of many editorial boards. But "pseudonymity" itself is just a symptom of another, more profound moral illness—the bureaucratic cult of office, which deforms ideas and paralyzes people's thinking. People still frequently judge a newspaper article's worth by the author's public position or office, and not on whether he really has anything to say. Therefore, it is simpler for a practiced newspaperman to arrange a hackneyed text for such an "author" than to exert himself looking for a competent person who has out-of-the-ordinary thoughts and is concerned about things. And this is how we create the illusion of a nonstaff aktiv's mass involvement in a newspaper.

Today there has been a sharp heightening of interest in the moral aspects of journalism in connection with the exceptional role of the press in restructuring. The reader is concerned: Are we always principled, sincere, and truthful? For the profession gives a journalist the right and, what is more, makes it his duty in the name of society to make a public moral judgment on phenomena which attract public interest.

Alas, it would be more accurate to say that we still frequently prove too narrow and one-sided in our articles.

Clearly, it is not just a question of the ease of the stereotyped approach. Moral and psychological nuances of a different kind also exist. The modern hero struggles, and whoever writes about him must choose whose side to take in this struggle. But it is not easy to decide. Like the luckless young cowherd in Tolstoy's well-known tale, we so often shouted "forward," "front," and "struggle" that we not only inculcated in others but also ourselves came to believe that the struggle was not at all against someone but only "for": for plan fulfillment, for a big harvest, for a model city, and so forth. But when it turned out that there was not only "for" but also "against," some people proved psychologically and morally unprepared for it.

However, at the present, second stage of changes it is particularly important to see and support those who are moving our society along the path of renewal and to rise to the defense of people struggling for restructuring.

Moreover, many editors have long held the opinion that it is necessary to merit beforehand the right to criticize and that it depends not on whether or not a person writes the truth but on his biography and prestige. We also regard with suspicion those who joined the struggle against shortcomings because an injustice had been done to them personally, because we perceive a personal interest here. But is it fair to accuse someone of having a personal interest if it does not run counter to the public interest and, in particular, to sweep aside true comments on these grounds?

There are also other sentiments. "We have to live here"—rayon and also oblast newspapermen so frequently say when explaining why correspondents from elsewhere come out more boldly against shortcomings.

An impoverished idea of the journalist's party-mindedness far removed from Lenin's understanding of it also hampers the press worker's creative independence and the strength of his moral stance. Party-mindedness is frequently interpreted just as the assiduous following of the instructions of a particular local party committee or even one of its leaders personally, and people confuse the party committee with its apparatus. Of course, party-mindedness is inseparably linked with discipline, but in no way does it boil down to this alone. However, the identification of these concepts with each other prevents journalists from confidently pursuing a principled line if a particular leader disagrees with it for some reason. Here is just one very significant example.

The newspaper SOVETSKAYA CHUVASHIYA came out four times in defense of B. Teterin, engineer of the "Chuvashmelioratsiya" Association's No 9 Mobile Mechanized Column, whom the enterprise leaders had tried to deal with for making just criticism. The newspaper even published an open letter to the city prosecutor demanding that the organizers of the honest Communist's persecution be brought to book. But the editorial board lacked the strength and the boldness to see the matter through to the end. The suppressors of criticism attacked the newspaper. They sent a complaint to the editorial board with a resolution from an obkom secretary, who believed that the engineer's criticism only got on the collective's nerves and that the omissions brought to light were a trifle not meriting attention. The obkom secretary's unambiguous stand stopped the newspapermen in their tracks. But readers were left bewildered: Why did the suppressors of criticism not have to answer according to the law?

Journalists await guarantees of unimpeded access to the information essential to their work, the clear definition not only of the journalist's duties but also of his rights in relations with the publisher, and reliable protection against persecution for just criticism.

For it is no secret that there are still many leaders who, in order to escape public control, try to portray information on the number of paper clips in workers' desks almost as a state secret. They prohibit employees from giving journalists information without the leadership's permission and endeavor to make it a rule that materials are approved. Even during the recent certification there were cases where party workers criticized journalists for not agreeing their conclusions with the leaders of the facilities about which they were writing. This is why it is so important to clearly define the concepts of state and, particularly, official secrets, who establishes them, and how.

Under the conditions of broadening democracy and glasnost the moral and ethical responsibility of the writer himself is also increasing. There is no need to explain that a critical word can not only heal but also inflict a deep, open wound. Nevertheless, if certain publications happen to make a mistake, they avoid acknowledging it and try to confine themselves to repentance over the telephone or to come to an agreement with the plaintiff on far from principled grounds. And if they are forced to apologize publicly, they endeavor to do so as imperceptibly as possible.

But no law can make provision for the way in which an unscrupulous person can, for mercenary purposes, profit from the advantages which he derives from membership of the journalists' profession.

As a rule, a person resorts to such an abuse when he does not fear public censure from his colleagues and only on those editorial boards which have forgotten that newspapers, journals, radio, and television certainly do not belong to their employees but to society as a whole.

Unfortunately, the situation once revealed in the movie "The Train Stopped" is still typical of certain publications. Extraordinary occurrences, accidents, and emergencies always attract journalists. But until recently, on encountering such events, they confined themselves as a rule just to praising those who found the way out of a critical situation through a tremendous exertion of effort and sometimes even at the cost of their own lives. At the same time, the people to blame for the grave situation were lost from sight. Of course, this suited the guilty people perfectly. Even more than that, various departments hold numerous contests to encourage "singers." I cannot recall an instance in which a prize has been awarded for criticism in these contests.

It is not departmental and group biases but the people's destiny and the interests of restructuring that both writers and editors must regard as of paramount importance.

The molding of a clear-cut stand with regard to particular violations is hampered by a lack of a unified and universally recognized ethical code for the Soviet journalist.

I believe that it must record the basic aims of journalists' activity, the Leninist principles of the press, the most important moral qualities which promote successful work, and the norms of professional morality and official ethics. It is also expedient to draw up sanctions for violating these norms. They could be applied, in accordance with the Law on the Labor Collective, by editorial board collectives and also by the Council for Ethics and Law under the USSR Journalists' Union Board.

In helping the party to rid social life of past strata, the journalist himself is changing along with these changes. But the ability of his words to become deeds depends on whether what is said corresponds to the facts, on the motives which dictated them, and on how far the profession of the writer himself has become a matter of conscience and duty.

Problem of Rumor-Mongering Discussed

PM181243 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 11
13 Mar 88 p 11

[Prof Boris Grushin article: "Anatomy of Rumours"—first paragraph is editorial introduction; boldface as published]

[Text] One would think that in the period of glasnost an end would be put to rumours. But in reality the "list" of them is still rather long—from the "money reform" to "the expected devastating earthquake in Moldavia". Is it possible to effectively combat this phenomenon? How do rumours arise in general? What is their nature and how do they spread? This subject is dealt with by Prof. Boris Grushin, D. Sc. (Philosophy), a well-known expert in the sociology of mass information and mass consciousness.

What is a rumour? In one of its recent issues the magazine OGONEK published a letter which said: "It is rumoured that your magazine will be punished and closed down." This is no rumour at all from the viewpoint of the **type** of expressed judgement. On the contrary, it is a "normal" opinion, arising in a situation when an acute ideological struggle is going on in society and when there are people who really demand that OGONEK be "punished" and "closed down". The evidence of this is not rumours but facts, and we would most likely be making a mistake should we today start qualifying certain viewpoints, undesirable to some people, as mere "rumours".

In the strict sense of the word, a rumour is something quite different. It is either information about facts or events which had allegedly happened, but which did not take place in reality, or news about oncoming facts or events, regarding which society has no accurate (verified, relying on competent sources, so-called official) information.

Does modern science have answers to questions on how rumours originate and why they are picked up? In principle, it does. But if we are to speak about some wide-scale and reliable empirical studies of our own (like those I came across 20 years ago at the Public Opinion Institute of France), unfortunately we have nothing of the kind. Today we are obliged to pay for the years of stagnation, when not only these, but also many other social studies were, to put it mildly, not encouraged.

Many people are convinced that the nature of rumours is rather simple, that underlying them is a lack of proper information. If so, the course adopted today by the country for the development of glasnost will in itself, "automatically", lead to reducing the basis for the rise and spread of rumours.

Of course, the lack of information and of corresponding social knowledge form the broadest starting basis for the origin of rumours. But the prerequisites for the origin of a phenomenon are one thing, and its immediate causes and mechanisms—quite another. The opinion—if there's no information, there are rumours—only looks like an indisputable truth. But in reality it is wrong since the only correct thing here is the opposite statement: if there are rumours, there is no information. Not the other way round! Why? Because the cause for the rise of rumours is not the lack of information as such, but the presence of an unsatisfied demand, an unsatisfied need for a **certain** kind of information, or rather the yearning of people to meet that demand.

Generally speaking, "official" information on very many issues is not widely spread in any society. As a matter of fact, this is quite a normal situation. Yet rumours arise not with regard to all these issues, but only to a rather limited number of them. Hence, it is important to understand that rumours, hearsay are a typical example of mass consciousness, of spontaneously arising and spontaneously spreading mass information, akin to public opinion, to various forms of folklore (for example, anecdotes) and so on. Why is that important for us? Because it shows that mass consciousness responds by no means to any events or facts, but only to those which directly affect the interests of the masses, fall in with their requirements, demands and expectations.

Therefore, in order to reduce the basis for the origin and spread of rumours, it is necessary not merely to expand the range and increase the amount of official information **in general**. It is necessary to change, above all, **that part** of this information which excites the masses, evokes their keen interest, and corresponds to their information requirements. This calls for specific empirical research, systematic scientific study of the demands, views and sentiments of the people.

Is it, **however**, possible to put an end to rumours if, registering the changeable picture of mass interests, we each time lag behind the events, that is, start combatting rumours already after they have arisen? And is it at all

possible to foresee what people will be talking about tomorrow? The point is that it is utterly impossible to tackle this problem to the end by pure information. Lack of information may be the broadest, but by no means the only basis for the origin of hearsay. Its other prerequisite is the presence in society, in a certain social environment, of such elements of the life and consciousness of people, which make rumours an integral part of their existence.

Let's recall the famous pilgrim Feklusha from A.N. Ostrovskiy's play "The Thunderstorm". She wanders through cities and villages, telling absurd but blood-curdling stories about "Stulan Mahnut of Persia", about the "unrighteous tsar", or "the lands where people have dogs' heads". Of extreme importance in this case is not only the storyteller herself, but also her "grateful" audience. "How many wonders there are in the world!", exclaims Glasha, one of her listeners. "And we sit here and know nothing! Good thing there are kind people: once in a while we do get to know what's happening in the world, otherwise we'd go to our graves plain fools!"

What is the point here? The extremely dreary life, so short of genuine events, genuine deeds and hence genuine information. The dense uncritical consciousness, its inability to express doubt, to evaluate by itself what has been heard. The striking belief in authority, which rests, as we would say today, on knowledge and information. And behind all that is a whole history, the fate of many generations of people!

Of course, life has changed fundamentally in the past century, and the people's consciousness, too, has changed substantially. However, up to this day there are Feklushas wandering around and Glashas believing them implicitly. This circumstance must not be overlooked when we speak about the nature of rumours. So what is necessary is to change not the information policy, but the people themselves, their vital activities and consciousness.

By the way, information policy is a subject that would be worthwhile to continue. After all, many qualities of official information during the stagnation period, including its sometimes outspoken falseness, not merely reduced confidence in official sources, but also constituted a natural basis for the popularity of rumours and all sorts of hearsay. Although this subject too, deserves to be discussed specially.

Theatrical Director Discusses Cultural Freedom
OW171313 Tokyo KYODO in English 1015 GMT
16 Mar 88

[Text] Tokyo, March 16 KYODO—There is now complete artistic and literary freedom in the Soviet Union, a noted Soviet theatrical director said in Tokyo Wednesday. The only restrictions still in place concern state secrets, pornography and propaganda promoting war or violence, Moscow Art Theater director Oleg Efremov

said. He said during a lunch meeting at the Foreign Correspondents' Club of Japan. The age of government censorship of the arts is over and there is now full freedom of expression as a result of Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's policy of "glasnost" (openness).

Actors Innokenti Smoktunovsky and Aleksandr Kal-yangin, and actress Anastasia Vertinskaya, also gave their impressions of the changes that have been taking place in Soviet arts world and how glasnost has affected the Soviet theater.

Efremov said Soviet theater directors now have complete a freedom to select plays, choose the cast, and determine how long a play is to run. Art works and literature that were previously prohibited are now being discussed regularly in Soviet magazines, he said.

In response to questions about the extent of the current liberalization process, Efremov said Soviet writers are now free to explore and analyze the country's historical past, even such formerly taboo subjects as the Stalinist period, in what he described as the greatest such openness in the last 100 years in the Soviet Union. "Limits have been destroyed," he said. The only "censorship" still in existence is that done by editors and directors on the basis of artistic merit and no other criteria, he said.

Gorbachev is a theater enthusiast and attends performances whenever he gets the chance, whereas previously government officials were more interested in hockey or the circus, Efremov said. The Soviet leader even on occasion privately offers his criticism and praise, he said.

In response to a reporter's comment on Gorbachev's acting ability, Efremov joked that the Soviet leader would make a bad actor because he does not demonstrate enough "personal flexibility" for the stage. He said he wanted to deepen and broaden cultural exchanges with Japan, and that the political climate between the two countries has not affected cultural exchanges.

The current Japan tour, sponsored by the Japanese kabuki and movie company Shochiku, is in exchange for a kabuki tour in the Soviet Union last year.

Film Deals With Release of Prisoners From Camps
PM151115 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA
in Russian 5 Mar 88 p 3

[Unattributed report: "They Were True to the End"]

[Text] This movie was made recently at the "Mosfilm" studio by director A. Proshkin using a script by E. Dubrovskiy. It is entitled "The Cold Summer of Fifty-Three..." ["Kholodnoye Leto Pyatdesyat Tretyego..."]. The movie has not yet been released but newspapers are already writing about it and people are already talking about it in lobbies. The few who have managed to see the movie forecast huge success for it. Is this only because it

has been shot in the "Western" genre and its action is as taut as a tight spring? No, the authors have made an attempt to combine a diverting acutely topical tale with the historical realities and social drama of the time when timid hopes of change emerged after the death of Stalin and the first amnestied people crawled out of the camp gates. Unfortunately, most of them were criminals and brigands. The movie's heroes Basargin (V. Priemykhoye) and Kopalych (Anatoliy Papanov's last movie role) from one such group fight hard. Two wrongly convicted "deportees," they remain loyal to the end to the concepts of honor, justice, humanity, and human dignity.

Briefs

Academy of Arts Elections

Moscow, 18 Mar (TASS)—The famous Soviet painter Boris Ugarov has been reelected president of the USSR Academy of Arts. Sculptor Lev Kerbel and graphic artist Dmitriy Bisti have become vice presidents. These decisions were made by the Academy's 44th session, which has ended in Moscow. [Text] [LD210559 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1725 GMT 18 Mar 88]

Economic

Shortages in Consumer Goods Detailed

PM181213 Moscow TRUD in Russian 13 Mar 88 p 1

[TRUD correspondent S. Mostovshchikov interview with Doctor of Economic Sciences A. Orlov, director of the USSR Ministry of Trade All-Union Research Institute for Study of the Population's Demand for Consumer Goods and Trade Conditions, under the "Topical Subject" rubric: "Deficit"; date and place not given—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Toothpaste, women's panty hose, lotions, eau de toilette, sugar, cassettes, and batteries... This is far from a complete list of the goods and products which, according to the assessments of specialists from the USSR Ministry of Trade All-Union Research Institute for Study of the Population's Demand for Consumer Goods and Trade Conditions, last year "broke records for being in short supply." The TRUD correspondent spoke with Doctor of Economic Sciences A. Orlov, director of the institute.

[Orlov] I must say frankly that the situation for a whole series of items has become serious. The demand for consumer goods is rising rapidly and we are unable to fully meet it today.

Good outerwear and footwear are constantly in short supply. Things are particularly bad with regard to items for elderly people. In 1987 industry manufactured only 1.5 units of knitted underwear per elderly man. In total less than one shirt per elderly man. Fewer than 10 million dresses were made for 36 million elderly women.

The situation is bad with regard to outerwear and footwear for young people. They represent more than 26 percent of the population in our country yet light industry only devotes 6-7 percent of the overall total of its goods to them. Things are now somewhat better with children's goods, outerwear and footwear for middle-aged people, and fashion goods. All the same, the level of their production is far from ideal.

In addition there is a very acute shortage of cheap furniture, quality and cheap radio apparatus, athletic and tourist equipment, and sportswear....

All indications are that 1988 will be extremely tight in this respect. Enterprises are switching to economic accountability [khozraschet], joint production units are being set up, individual labor and cooperative activity is developing, and a price review is imminent. In short, we are turning a corner; and, as is well known, speed can be lost when cornering, and we must also be prepared for this.

But what would I like to say specifically about the goods? The situation has become and will be somewhat easier with bed linen, fabrics, knitwear, hose, and socks. Problems with toothpaste are already being successfully resolved, according to our information. We expect the frantic search for women's panty hose to abate.

Industry must switch as soon as possible to a qualitatively new level of work. Otherwise the situation in the domestic market may indeed become critical. The point is that the problem with so-called repeat demand [vtorichnyy spros] is now becoming pressing. What does this mean? Say, you bought a refrigerator at one time and it has now lasted the prescribed period and has become unserviceable. You go to a store to buy a new one. That's repeat demand. So if radical measures are not taken, by the year 1990 our industry will be unable to cope even with repeat demand for some types of consumer goods. We must also think about meeting the requirements of those people who have decided to buy, for instance, an automobile, a television, a washing machine, a vacuum cleaner, or even a refrigerator for the first time.

So a great deal depends, now and in the future, on initiative and healthy enterprise and on the quest for new solutions at the local level. It is extremely necessary to boost the quality of goods and to ensure that all goods manufactured actually reach the stores—this would produce colossal results. Approximately 15 percent of consumer goods—ranging from potatoes to automobiles—do not "survive" to be sold owing to their poor quality. We lose at least R20 billion annually in this way; that is the approximate size of the current unsatisfied demand. At the same time, according to USSR Savings Bank data, approximately R270 billion lies in the savings books of our country's population.

In principle R270 billion in savings books is not a critical sum. Something else is more alarming—the so-called “surplus” savings; that is, money which has had to be set aside only because the necessary item was not available and did not appear in the stores. Such “deferred” demand now amounts to approximately R60-65 billion. This sum creates definite scope for illegal entrepreneurs to operate. Their “under-the-counter” commodity turnover, according to estimates by specialists from the USSR Gosplan Economic Research Institute, amounts annually to something on the order of R15 billion. We have been paying R3-4 billion of this from our own pockets to obtain outerwear and footwear outside the network of state and cooperative trade, and another portion of the money went to purchase construction materials in short supply, and so on....

The situation is now changing for the better. Cooperatives are emerging, people have begun to engage in individual labor activity, a new management system is being introduced in state enterprises....

It is, of course, early to talk about the definitive resolution of this problem. For instance, last year cooperatives and “individual operators” produced and sold consumer goods and offered services worth more than R300 million. This is still too little. It is necessary to be more vigorous in seeking to meet people's growing requirements more fully and to eliminate the shortages.

Consumer ‘Correspondence Club’ Formed

PM171837 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Mar 88
Morning Edition p 2

[Feature incorporating interviews with Yu. Solovyev, head of new consumer organization, and Moscow plant director Ye. Shikallo and Moscow consumer V. Zakharov by V. Belikov: “Consumer Evaluation”—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] A consumers' correspondence club has been set up—the first public organization in the country whose purpose is to protect the interests of those who visit stores selling manufactured goods and foodstuffs. The council is headed by Yu. Solovyev, USSR Designers' Union Board chairman.

[Solovyev] Each of us makes a purchase at least once a day. This is enough to qualify for membership of our club. It is called a correspondence club because there is no need to become a member of a section or local branch—they simply do not exist! Let us say you like something you have bought or, on the other hand, it turns out that you have wasted your money on a substandard product. Send us a letter or postcard indicating where and when you made your good purchase or who produced or sold the unsatisfactory article. It would be best if you would enclose the manufacturer's label. Comments, observations, and complaints can be sent to the following address: Consumers' Club Council, 1 Pushkin Square, 103009.

[Belikov] What happens to the letters then?

[Solovyev] We have already started to analyze incoming mail—we are double-checking complaints, identifying the causes of defects, and reporting them to the leaders of enterprises and sectors. In short, we have started doing what consumer associations all over the world do.

They exist in practically all the industrially developed states. More than 120 of these organizations in 50 or so countries have set up an International Consumers' Union with its headquarters in the Netherlands.

The organization that has been active in the United States for more than half a century, becoming a mighty public force, is regarded as the oldest national association. It is worth noting that some firms who have had goods declared substandard by the Consumer Federation of America have taken it to court. Not one action has been won by the industrialists!

Today a negative finding by the federation's experts concerning a particular article, commodity, or food product is a “death sentence” which cannot be appealed against—the company immediately stops production or eliminates the defect at its own expense. This can cost tens of millions of dollars. [Solovyev ends]

Ye. Shikallo, director of Moscow's “Mikromashina” plant, repeated the question:

“Consumers' club... What is it—another form of state acceptance? If so, I am dead against it! Not because I want an easy ride for my products and for me personally but because I am wary of yet another authority we will have to coordinate, arrange, and settle things with, thus losing time and piling up obstacles in the way of new products.

“After all, look at what the cooperatives are hitting us with. They are in charge of everything, from the choice of material, technology, and design to ‘approval’ of prices of finished articles. We, however, the producers of, for example, the popular ‘Mikma’ electric razors and electric coffee grinders, have not had the right for years even to change the color of our products, to offer a somewhat wider range.

“Why doesn't the consumers' club link up with the industrial workers producing consumer goods and together try to clear away all the bureaucratic obstacles and provide scope for plant initiative and enterprise? I am sure that would be far more profitable than endless complaints like: ‘That's bad!.. Why don't you do this?’”

In conclusion—the opinion of Muscovite V. Zakharov, average consumer, as he calls himself:

"As model replaces model, articles with the same functions as before are costing more. The consumers' club might insist in each case of this nature that the manufacturer at least explain (on the package or in the enclosed instructions) what extra qualities the new model has compared with the previous one. In other words, for what are we paying the extra money?"

Scientific

Activities Aboard 'Mir' Complex Described
*LD181201 Moscow TASS in English 1113 GMT
18 Mar 88*

[Text] Moscow March 18 TASS—Cosmonauts Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov continue carrying out pre-planned work on board the research complex "Mir" (peace). Several series of photography of various sections of the starry sky in ultraviolet rays has been done within the framework of the programme for studies in extra-atmospheric astronomy. Today these experiments will be continued. The ultraviolet telescope "Glazar" will be trained at one of the areas of the constellation Ursa Major.

A new experiment has been completed under the programme for outer space material studies in the technological plant Pion. It was carried out to study the peculiarities of the structure of formation of colloidal solutions in conditions of microgravitation.

Today's programme of work by the crew includes two medical research experiments. The experiment Akustika (acoustics) is being carried out to study the noise background in the work and living compartments of the manned complex.

In the course of the day both cosmonauts will also undergo examination to estimate their keenness of eyesight.

According to the reports of the crew and data of telemetric information, the flight is continuing according to the pre-set programme.

Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov feel well.

Zaytsev on Danger Posed by Outer Space Debris
*AU191509 Moscow in Romanian to Romania
1700 GMT 25 Feb 88*

[Interview with Yuriy Zaytsev, scientific researcher at the Institute for Space Research at the USSR Academy of Sciences, by unnamed interviewer; Zaytsev's answers in Russian with superimposed Romanian translation—date and place not given]

[Text] The issue of environmental protection has lately become extremely serious for all of mankind. People and scientists are expressing their concern and opinions publicly. What is the situation in this respect in outer

space? These are the issues discussed during our interview with Comrade Yuriy Zaytsev, scientific researcher at the the Institute for Space Research at the USSR Academy of Sciences.

[Question] For centuries on end, people have had a reckless, even criminal attitude toward our environment, and now they are picking the bitter fruit of this way of thinking. Are not people continuing the mistakes of the past by taking possession of outer space?

[Zaytsev] Year by year, the issue of ecological purity of space near the earth is becoming increasingly serious. By last year, there were 1,702 satellites and 5,830 large fragments from recent tests with launch vehicles in space. We should add to this the number of objects that have been created as a result of the explosion of the final stages of rockets and space equipment. As a result of this, there are probably about 50,000 objects currently in space from man-made sources that are 1 centimeter or more in diameter. These objects are at altitudes between hundreds and several thousands of kilometers. Collisions with these so-called meteorites pose a great danger for space vehicles.

[Question] There are probably also [word indistinct] particles in space?

[Zaytsev] [Passage indistinct] There are particles from man-made sources, with diameters of 1 decimeter to one-hundredth of a millimeter, the majority of which are produced by solid fuel rocket engines. These particles do not pose a danger, but they do have negative effects on solar batteries, thermal insulation, and optical instruments. Likewise, a lot of trouble can be caused to equipment in space by microscopic particles that are created during the flight of space craft—particles that result from the condensation of engine exhaust gases and from the evaporation of substances used as sealants, and so on.

[Question] How serious is the current situation?

[Zaytsev] For the time being, the situation is not as dangerous as it may appear to be. Many of the objects of kind I mentioned simply burn up when they reach the dense layers of the atmosphere. Lately, the number of satellites with a longer design life that capable of carrying several space labs is increasing. Uniting efforts of Soviet scientists [passage indistinct]

[Question] What kind of influence could the implementation of the so-called Strategic Defense Initiative [SDI] by the United States have on outer space?

[Zaytsev] A very dangerous one. In the process of achieving the SDI program, the United States will begin intensive testing of means to destroy some objects in space. It is enough for me to say that as a result of the explosion of the final stage of the U.S. launch vehicle for the 4-A satellite, 215 large-size objects appeared in orbit.

The process of destroying satellites and the heavy releases of energy from laser beams, for example, will be accompanied by the high heating of components of devices in space, by evaporation, and, later, by the condensation of vapor—in other words, by the formation of aerosols. As a result, a wide zone of dense dust could form around the earth, with potential serious geophysical consequences for our planet and with repercussions on the radiation balance. This would undoubtedly lead to the cooling of the earth. In principle, it is possible to create the phenomenon of a cosmic winter, which is similar to a nuclear winter, with the only difference that the cosmic winter will last much longer. Therefore, those who are directly in charge of the utilization of the outer space have a great responsibility to ensure that space does not become the arena for military rivalry.

1988 Space Plans Promise 'Impressive Strides'
LD162202 Moscow in English to North America
2300 GMT 4 Feb 88

[Text] [Announcer] We begin today's program by looking at the Soviet Union's plans in space this year. It promises to be a year of impressive strides both in earth orbit and in planetary exploration, and several projects are to involve other countries as well, the details from our science correspondent Boris Belitskiy:

[Belitskiy] The Soviet Union's powerful new booster rocket Energiya, flight tested last year, has opened up some fascinating prospects in space. Once fully operational, it will make possible the exploration of very distant objects in space and it will also be able to orbit practically any type of research equipment. This enhanced potential of Soviet rocketry, its ability to handle both heavier and larger payloads will make it possible to launch much more substantial instruments, such as telescopes weighing several tonnes.

Work will continue, of course, aboard the Mir orbital station too, with more Soviet and international crews going up there. Just now, you'll recall, there is a two-man crew working aboard the station—Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov.

As for international projects, these were described at a recent news conference by Aleksandr Dunayev, who heads the government space committee:

[Begin Dunayev recording in Russian with superimposed English translation] Three international missions are scheduled for this year. In June there is to be a Soviet-Bulgarian mission to the Mir station, then in August there is to be a Soviet-Afghan flight, and finally in November, a Soviet-French one. In short, there is a very busy schedule of international missions to the Mir orbital station. [end recording]

There's a no less busy schedule of unmanned flights. July will see the start of the big international Phobos mission. This involves the flight of two Soviet space probes to explore Mars and its satellite Phobos at very close range. The project also envisages placing two small landers on Phobos to study that fascinating celestial body, which is believed to be a former asteroid captured by the gravitational field of Mars.

This year is also to see the launching of a high apogee satellite of the Astron type with an astronomical observatory on board. It will carry a French-made gamma telescope for the study of gamma radiation from outer space and two Soviet-made X-ray telescopes, not to mention a series of instruments for detecting high speed gamma and X-ray bursts. This is a mainly Soviet-French project, but it also involves Bulgaria and Denmark.

Another space observatory to be put in orbit is called Gamma-1. It will study the hard gamma radiation attributed to nuclear explosions in distant worlds. The onboard instruments will be capable of registering streams of gamma quanta of enormous energies. This project involves French and Polish scientists.

As for the Mir orbital station, its facilities are to be expanded by the addition of new modules to it. The first add-on module is to be one intended for earth sensing. It will be used to study the earth's surface, the oceans, and the atmosphere. Its facilities will include a video computer. The instrumentation of this module and the projects to be accomplished with it are a joint undertaking of Soviet scientists and their colleagues in Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary and Bulgaria.

And, finally, the latest on the Soviet shuttle. Aleksandr Dunayev was asked about this at his news conference, and this is what he said.

[Begin Dunayev recording in Russian with superimposed English translation] We are working on a reusable space system. This involves earnest and no longer experimental work on such a spacecraft. We are working very thoroughly to assure its safety, and we are close to the finishing line. [end recording]

Scientists Experimenting for Mars Exploration
OW180001 Moscow International Service
in Mandarin 1500 GMT 26 Jan 88

[From "Soviet Union Today" program]

[Text] In 6 more months, a mammoth international experiment using automatic space flight equipment to study Mars, its satellites, and [words indistinct] will begin, and the idea for a manned space flight to Mars will be enthusiastically discussed.

A science observer of this station will now discuss this goal and the blueprint for how it will be realized.

What is needed for a protracted space flight to another planet? A reliable automatic system is needed. This system must ensure cosmonauts everything they need—oxygen and an inexhaustible food supply. Soviet experts are working in this direction. Two researchers, (Khugenyeyev) and (Balietsyev), have spent 5 months within what is known as a biological [words indistinct] capsule that is totally sealed from the outside world. Personnel within this capsule, which has a capacity of 300 cubic meters, get only electricity and television from the outside, and have to grow everything else they need themselves. Under the illumination of artificial solar lamps, different varieties of wheat and vegetables have ripened in the capsule's garden. Whereas vegetables gave the researchers 30 to 40 percent of the nutrition they needed during the previous experiments, now the percentage will nearly double during the current experiment, thus increasing the station's independence from [words indistinct] system on earth. In order to grow vegetables in the capsule, scientists have developed a unique system under which wheat can mature six times consecutively. Mother Nature's principle governing the conservation of matter, namely the most important substance which man relies upon in order to survive on earth, serves as the foundation in the capsule. On the 26-square meter garden, researchers have grown peas, wild cabbage, and other vegetables. They cultivate the crops [words indistinct] bake loaves, and prepare all types of meals with food-stuffs they brought onto the station and the crops they grow in it.

Last year, Soviet Cosmonaut Romanenko made another stride forward along the course of manned space flight to Mars. In a state of weightlessness, he worked effectively for 326 days and nights. During the protracted course of his space flight, doctors never found he was affected by fatigue. All medical parameters were virtually the same as those when he was on earth prior to the flight. That was his third flight in space.

However, just when can mankind expect to realize its wish to fly to Mars? This question has been answered by Academician Barsukov, a Soviet scholar. [A few seconds of recorded speech in Russian fades to announcer's Mandarin translation] Barsukov says: I think it is most realistic to say that a flight to Mars can be realized by the end of the 20th century. By that time, we would have been prepared for a landing on Mars.

It has been reported in newspapers and journals that the expenses needed for conducting space study on Mars would be astronomical. [A few seconds of recorded speech in Russian fades to announcer's Mandarin translation] Incomplete [words indistinct]; that was just a casual estimate. Both the USSR and the United States have now made more specific estimates. In terms of expenditures, the space program certainly will be an expensive one, but it would not be as intimidating as was once thought.